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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

SPIRIT OF THE REBELLION.

DESPAIR AND DESPERATION OF THE REBELS.

From the Richmond Sentinel.

It becomes us coolly and calmly to look into the circumstances of our condition, and adopt with firmness and energy such a policy as wisdom may point out and our necessity constrain. It is childish to whine under misfortune. It is cowardly to sink under it. It is absurd to be enfeebled by it. A brave man struggling with adversity is worthy of special admiration—a spectacle for gods and men.

We think that our late reverses have done much toward preparing the minds of our people for the most extreme sacrifices, if they shall be adjudged necessary to the success of our cause. And in truth they are not sacrifices at all when compared with our situation. If subjugated, it is a question simply whether we shall give for our own uses, or whether the Yankees shall take for theirs. Subjugation means emancipation and confiscation.

All our servants and all our property yielded up to assist in the defence of our country would mean no more, but it would be far more glorious to devote our means to our success than to lose them as spoils to the enemy. Our situation, too, stripped of our property, but master of the government, would be infinitely better than if despoiled by the enemy and wearing his bonds.

These views have long received the theoretical assent of our people. They are now our practical realizing conviction. A thousand prejudices, a thousand consecrated dogmas, are now ready to be yielded at the bidding of necessity. Any sacrifice of opinion, any sacrifice of property, any surrender of prejudice, if necessary to the defeat of our enemies, is now the watchword and reply. Subjugation is a horror that embraces all other horrors, and adds enormous calamities to its own. The people see this. They have a vivid perception of it. They are ready on their part for the duties which it implies. Now our authorities, State and Confederate, rise to the level of the great occasion.

Great exigencies surround us. We need all our strength and our wisdom. Let there be a conference of all our wise men. Let there be a calm investigation of our wants and a catalogue of our resources. Then, by common consent, let all obstacles to the employment of these resources be removed. So long as we have a man or a dollar, and the man or dollar be needed, let the call be honored.

We must not raise difficulties; it is no time for that. Shall we withhold our sons and thus reserve them as servants for the Yankees? Shall we send our sons and deny our negroes? Shall we spend our blood and refuse our money? Shall we withhold anything from our country when we should be but saving it for our foe? It is a disgrace to a garrison to surrender before its ammunition is exhausted.

It would be adding disgrace to our misery if we were overcome without having first exhausted every resource of defence. It would be doubly infamous to us, because, with contributions to our defense equal to the spoliations we should suffer if conquered, our success would be assured. We should come out of the contest at least with that which would be worth more than all the rest, our liberties and our country. If we had thrown overboard the cargo, we should thereby have saved the ship.

Let the government determine what it needs and what it can use, and if it be our lands, our houses, our negroes, our horses, our money, ourselves, it might have them. Strange that we should cling so tenaciously to what is of least moment! Strange that we should give ourselves and grudge our property! Our patriotism must lay aside such selfishness.

It must be generous as well as brave. Our authorities must do more. They must take care, whatever befall us, to save us from the Yankees. If adverse gales and devouring billows should constrain our storm-tossed ship into some port, let it be no Yankee port. If an unpropitious Providence should condemn us to a master, let it not be a Yankee master. Of all the people on earth, we should have most reason to loathe and dread them. Any terms with any other would be preferable to subjugation to them.

This is the sentiment of our people. This is their conviction, and it is a wise conviction. Let our rulers remember it and heed it. Our Constitution was made as the development of our national life. It may not provide for all the various exigencies of war; questions of State may arise in our experience, as they have arisen in the experience of almost every other nation, when our best welfare will require of our rulers the exercise of a bold responsibility.

The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 was justified only as a question of State, something over and above the Constitution. If in times of peace statesmen have sometimes thus to throw themselves upon the intelligence of their countrymen, and seek their advantage by irregular methods, such occasions may well be presumed more likely to arise during a struggle for life with a powerful, unscrupulous and ferocious enemy.

The clouds that have thickened over us admonish us of the possibility that the time may come when statesmanship, if it cannot deliver us, must at least secure to us the utmost palliation of our misery. If it cannot save, it must at least, save us from the Yankees.

We lately published from a thoughtful correspondent a suggestion that, in the event of being unable to sustain our independence, we should surrender it into the hands of those from whom we wrested or purchased it, into the hands of Britain, France and Spain, rather than yield it to the Yankees.

From the favor with which this suggestion has been received, we are sure that in the dread event which it contemplates, our people would infinitely prefer an alliance with European nations on terms as favorable as they could desire, in preference to the dominion of the Yankees. We will not dwell upon that subject now. We speak of them not out of gloomy forebodings, but simply as a man in health speaks of his will.

What we ask now, in the name of the people, is, that the government strain every energy and develop every resource for the public defence. Remember that to hold back anything is not to save it. The only question is shall we have the use of it, or shall our enemies. Such a question leaves no room to hesitate. Upon such efforts and such devotion Heaven will surely send its blessing. But if misfortune should still pursue us and our hopes all fail, let us have the election of throwing ourselves into the hands of those who are cold and indifferent rather than to fall under the yoke of malignant enemies raising the wolf's howl for our blood.

We could not have avoided the struggle into which the North has forced us. Long ago Lincoln declared that the Republic could not exist half slave and half free. In various forms the people of the North pressed the issue upon us. Our enemies hedged us round and finally drove us to the wall. The worst that can happen to us in prosecuting our defence is the best that they designed for us in the beginning, and far better than they will accord to us if they triumph in their aims. Providence has marked out our path, and both led and urged our steps. It has been to us the inevitable path of duty.

If in pursuing it we fail, this were to fail as nations never failed before. Providence will not suffer us to go down if we show a proper devotion, a proper wisdom, and a proper courage. Let our wise men plan, let our brave men fight, and let our good men pray. God will open up a way of escape for us and will disappoint our enemies. Let our faith fail not.

[The Richmond *Enquirer* closes a review of the foregoing article as follows:]

A decent respect for the opinions of mankind required our ancestors when about to dissolve their political bands with Great Britain to declare the causes which compelled them to the separation That high, noble precedent was not followed by these States "when in the course of human events it became necessary for us to separate from the United States."

The absence of such a declaration has enabled our enemies to misrepresent our cause, and to place us before the world as a nation seeking not self-government, but the perpetuation and extension of slavery. "Why," said Mr. Cobden, in his recent speech at Rochdale, "is there no such declaration?—because they have but the grievance that they want to consolidate, perpetuate and extend slavery."

Thus the occasion of the war has been misunderstood and misrepresented, and its causes and the righteous, noble object of self-government, for which we are fighting, kept out of view, and slavery perpetually paraded before the world as the corner-stone of the Confederate States.

Can we any more than our forefathers affect to disregard the opinion of mankind? The opinion of mankind as entertained in France and England and throughout Europe, is that of anti-slavery; and was it to be expected that that opinion would revolutionize itself merely to divide and dissever the United States?

The right of self-government was as much at stake in the denial of our equal rights in the Territories as that of our forefathers was in the tax on tea. But the enlightened opinion of the world does not so understand our cause. The violent anti-slavery discussion that has for thirty years preceded the dissolution of the Union, and which as often predicted civil war, very naturally led the world to understand our war as solely undertaken for the perpetuation and extension of slavery.

Perhaps the time has passed for any such declaration of grievances to be either proper or profitable, but a manifesto of objects and purposes, setting forth clearly the reasons that induced us to resort to war, the manner in which that war has been conducted, the declaration and acts of vengeance leveled against our persons and property, the confiscation of all estates, the establishing of negro superiority over our people by the enemy, the threat of their Congress, through William L. Chandler, to wage the war for "extermination," and the beginning of that extermination, as evidenced in the devastation ordered by Lieut.-Gen. Grant and executed by Major-Generals Sheridan and Sherman, together with an avowal that slavery shall not be permitted to prejudice our recognition as a nation, would, we believe, secure our recognition and, perhaps, induce an intervention.

These States ask recognition from the nations of the world; these States believe they are justly entitled to that recognition as a right, but the nations of Europe will not yield us that recognition, because they believe we have rushed into war merely for negro slavery. This is the belief of the great mass of the European people.

There are many wise statesmen who understand our cause properly, but they cannot openly advocate it, because of the anti-slavery prejudices that beset it among their people. There are a few men who defend us despite that prejudice. The Emperor of the French correctly understands our system of slavery, but he will not jeopard his dynasty by doing violence to the anti-slavery sentiment of his people. The ministry of England are anti-slavery in sentiment, and hence they will not aid or recognize a nation which they believe founded upon negro slavery.

The heroism and endurance of our struggle despite this prejudice against slavery, has won for our people the undisguised admiration of the world, but has not and will not modify that prejudice, or dispose the nations to recognize us with slavery, as they understand our cause, the corner-stone of our system.

If we would reap the rich blessings to which our heroic struggle entitles us, if we would crystalize that admiration into acts of aid and comfort, we must convince the world that we are fighting for the self-government of the whites and not for the slavery of the blacks; that the war has been forced upon us by our enemy, for the purpose of spoliation and subjugation; that the freedom of the negro was no part of the purpose of our enemy, but that commercial vassalage and dependence prompted and impelled this cruel war.

If it be necessary to convince the world that we are fighting for the self-government of the whites, that we should liberate the negroes, and if that liberation can be made to secure our recognition and the guaranty of England and France to our independence, we believe that the people of these States would not hesitate to make the sacrifice. In such a light only do we understand the following declaration of the Richmond *Sentinel*:

[The *Enquirer* at this point quotes the second, third and fourth paragraphs of the *Sentinel's* article, and concludes as follows:]

If we have given to our cotemporary a broader interpretation than the writer designed, we do not believe we have misrepresented the determination of our people. The consequences of emancipation would fall upon the unfortunate negro, and God would hold responsible those who had forced upon us the act. It is one of necessity, not choice. An act taken against our judgments and our convictions, but to save us from the horrors of a prolonged war and the disgrace, ruin and destruction involved in the success of our enemy.

If France and England will enter into a treaty with these Confederate States, recognizing our nationality and guaranteeing our independence upon the abolition of slavery in all these States, rather than continue the war, we should be prepared to urge the measure upon our readers. We believe such a proposition would be favorably received and acted upon by those nations, and it *ought to be made to them.*

SLAVERY ABOLISHED AT THE SOUTH.

WAR DEMOCRACY DAMNED.

From the New York Daily News—Secesh.

We do not claim to have been oracular in having pointed out, at an early period of this civil war, the inevitable consequences of persistence in the attempt to coerce free and independent States into a political condition that they abhor. It was the blindness of fanaticism that ventured an appeal to arms to enforce upon eight million of free-born and enlightened Americans allegiance to a power that they repudiated upon principle, and with a unanimity unparalleled in the history of revolution. We predicted what would come to pass, even in the event of a succession of triumphs for the Federal arms; and now, although the military field is still enveloped in uncertainty, the Southern people, even as we foresaw they would, are preparing for the contingency of overwhelming defeat, and are exhibiting that sublime devotion against which the sword is impotent, and by which they will snatch their independence from beneath the very wheels of the war-chariots that sink into their soil.

If the Book of Fate had been open before us, we could not have defined, more clearly than we have done, the effects upon the Southern people of the unnatural and fatal policy of this Administration. The Black Republicans have appealed, under false pretences, to the sympathy of the powers of Europe, and have deceived a portion of the masses of the North, by representing this war to be a struggle between slavery and freedom. That plea, henceforward, will not serve them; for the Southern people are ready to forestall them in their scheme of Emancipation, and the weapon of Abolitionism, falling hurtless from the hands of its inventors, will become a two-edged sword in the grasp of the slaveholding States.

The article that we publish elsewhere to-day, from the editorial columns of the Richmond *Sentinel*, is pregnant with significance of an approaching change in the character of this deadly strife. It imports that the contest is to be stripped of its social attributes, and reduced to a plain political issue, a conflict between people of equal intelligence and powers of reasoning, who differ in their respective conceptions of the nature of a republican form of government. The Richmond *Sentinel* is the organ of the Confederate Administration, and undoubtedly represents the Administrative policy. The article in question was probably inspired by the Executive brain of the Confederacy, if not traced by the Executive hand. But this circumstance is not more important than the fact that the sentiments expressed by the *Sentinel* are indorsed and earnestly commended by the Richmond *Enquirer*, a journal that is not identified with the Administrative policy, but is among those that are representative of the temper of the Southern masses. Both of these journals, without reserve or equivocation—in fact, with the utmost emphasis—attest that the South is prepared, *if necessary*, to sacrifice slavery at the altar of Southern independence. Mr. Seward has tortured this stern expression of an indomitable will into a confession of weakness, and has ordered copies of the papers in question to be forwarded to the Federal ministers in Europe, in evidence of the exhaustion and despair of the South. But Mr. Seward has offered testimony that ruins his own cause; for the Powers of Europe will hardly conceive a people to be exhausted and despairing who are on the point of employing their most powerful engine of resistance, and who are about to seal a bond of sympathy between themselves and foreign potentates.

If the Southern people should give freedom to their slaves, they will bring into the field a numerical strength that no conscription in the North can balance. Hitherto their entire producing population has been in reserve, and the consumers have sustained the physical burdens of the war; while in the North the drain has been chiefly upon the producing classes, and how exhausting it has been is fearfully apparent in the scarcity and high prices of provisions. It will be difficult to recognize the symptoms of exhaustion in the South when the millions hitherto confined to agricultural production shall give their virile strength to the ranks of war. It will be more difficult to appreciate the signs of despair, when France and England shall accept the decree of Emancipation as the signal for their intervention.

But the liberation of their slaves is not the forlorn hope of the Southern people. They are ready to make a still greater sacrifice to escape the yoke of Northern fanaticism. The *Sentinel*—and "this," it says, "is the sentiment of our people"—consents to a foreign alliance rather than to an *enforced* companionship with the North. It says:

"If adverse gales and devouring billows should constrain our storm-tossed ship into some port, let it be no Yankee port. If an unpropitious Providence should condemn us to a master, let it not be a Yankee master. Of all the people on earth, we should have most reason to loathe and dread *them*. Any terms with any other would be preferable to *subjugation* to them.....If misfortune should still pursue us and our hopes all fail, let us have the election of throwing ourselves into the hands of those who are cold and indifferent rather than to fall under the yoke of malignant enemies raising the wolf's howl for our blood."

Such is the result of the exterminating policy of the Administration. Such are the fruits that have sprung up in the paths of desolation that our armies have opened through the fair fields of the South. The ashes of Southern homes and the tears of Southern women and children, left shelterless and destitute, have manured the soil of hate and vindictiveness, until now that people, descended with us from one glorious ancestry, shrink from us as from the embrace of lepers, and prefer a refuge beneath a despot's sceptre, to the mockery of Republicanism with a race that they detest.

Now, you War Democrats, behold your work! *Your* work, YOURS; for you have not even the poor consolation of sharing your responsibility with the Abolitionists. It is *your* cry of *war for the Union* that has stirred this deadly hatred in the Southern heart. It is *your* theory of self-government at the bayonet's point that has shivered the foundation of the Republic, and breached its citadel for monarchism to enter. The Southern people are willing to yield the point that the Abolitionists have contended for; but they will not yield to *you*. They are willing to sacrifice slavery, but the principle of self-government, the principle that *you* have assailed, and the principle that *you* have sacrificed, *they* will not sacrifice; or, if they do, they will surrender it to a foreign Power rather than into *your* hands—stained with the blood of their kindred. These are the fruits of your "expediency"; and, with the ashes at your lips, may the bitterness be at your hearts forever.

A CONTINENTAL POLICY FOR AMERICA.

From the Albany Atlas and Argus, Dec. 29, 1864.

When the Empress Catherine of Russia proposed to check the progress of revolutionary ideas by appealing to national passions, she showed wisdom beyond that of most statesmen. The national sentiment, aroused and invigorated by war, binds the people together, animates them with patriotic zeal, and strengthens them for sacrifices. It absorbs all other passions, and by the largeness of the ideas and the depth of sentiment it inspires, elevates national character. Civil war degenerates as well as divides a people, while a war in defence of nationality necessarily consolidates the people, and gives to them common objects of hope and desire, and motives for mutual love.

We believe we are to have a foreign intervention, and that the interposition of France and England will necessarily lead to war. Shall we await the blow? Shall we give to these powers an ally in the South, and make for ourselves an eternal enemy there? *Or will we not rather strike the first blow*, and proposing terms to the South, use her still great warlike power in our common cause? It is folly to await the action of the European Powers, if we are convinced that it is to be hostile. We have a right to anticipate the blow at us. *We should seize upon the Colonies of an adversary. We should take Canada from Great Britain, and expel Maximillian from Mexico.* Canada was wrested from France principally by American Colonists, and we but reclaim our own when we absorb her into our system. It was contemplated by the framers of our government that at some future day, Canada would come or be brought under it. In the Monroe doctrine we early laid down our theory in regard to the rest of the continent.

In the efforts to realize a continental policy, we would find ample room for the South. Peace offers no outlet to its armies or to ours, if it should come! The policy of "extermination" is as absurd as it is fiendishly wicked. Point out the vision of a Federation embracing all of North America and the West Indies, and the Southern leaders will gladly drop their suicidal struggle, which is now without hope or honor, and take their share in a contest for so glorious a prize. *We need not treat with the rebel President or his Congress; but with the Confederate Generals.* Lee and Beauregard hold the destinies of the South in their hands. *Accept their allegiance, accept their armies, put in their hands the banner of Stars and Stripes* (which they have not forgotten), *and bid them march forward to the conquest of a continent.* Let them prove their loyalty at Quebec and Montreal. Let Grant and Sherman march to Mexico, and expel the Austrian pretender!

This is not the language of passion, or the suggestion of the imagination! It will stand the test of a rigid scrutiny and of the coldest calculation. There is an army of 300,000 under Lee and his confederates. There is a negro population to draw from. There is occupation for our army and our navy, and a field for the energies of a great people and a future national unity and extension, instead of a prospect of uncertain peace, founded upon division, a disintegrated people, and immense debts and onerous taxation, operating upon a diminished population and a declining prosperity.

We must go forward through some such course as we have pointed out, or go back. A war for the establishment of a great American policy, embracing all of North America (except the Russian possessions) and the West India Islands, would be a policy of freedom. The immense federation of States, governed by uniform law, at peace with each other, having a communion of free trade, and all the laws of comity which make the intercourse of nations mutually beneficent, would be a great step in human progress. Once established, war and provocations of war would cease.

The ocean which separates us from Europe would be an impassable barrier, except to the voluntary emigration of the masses, who would be attracted by the magnitude of our power, and the extent of our dominion. That emigration from Southern Europe which has been suspended for a century would flow anew. The regions of Europe that have contributed to our population for many years, are small indeed. There are other nations that are destined to pour their blood and their vigor into our veins. With the Canadas and Mexico added we would extinguish not only all the sectionalism that has long narrowed us and weakened us; but we would drown out the negro blood, and instead of diluting the vigor of the race with a merely barbaric infusion, we should reinforce it with that of the governing races of the old world. Freedom, too, would gain. We should have the counterpoise of great States and Confederations, those now existing north of us, and those to be developed south, to balance the tendency toward consolidation. We should have self-governing States, and a Federal power remanded in its strictest limit, and yet omnipotent within that range.

This is one future; what is the alternative? If there is intervention, the South becomes the ally of Europe. We will have enemies on all sides—Mexico, British America, and the Confederates. We shall lose the Pacific States. The Northwest will at last revolt at the exactions of New England, and cut the ruinous connection, and put an end to a rule that will have been attended only with dishonor and disaster. With this catastrophe will come the end of representative government; as, on the other hand, with the triumph of the American policy, and it established throughout the continent, will come the downfall of monarchical power and of the aristocracies that have governed Europe, and which propose to making of our calamity their opportunity. The question before us is, whether we shall advance the cause of free government, or, retrograding, abandon all that our fathers have gained for us and for mankind. We must decide before it is too late, for events are hastening.

Selections.

DURATION AND NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE.

From the Liberator, Jan. 6.

THE commencement of the *Liberator* upon its THIRTY-FIFTH VOLUME is the evidence of the protracted nature of the struggle for the abolition of slavery throughout the United States; yet it does not cover the entire period of our anti-slavery labors, which goes back to the year 1828, when, as editor of the *Journal of the Times* at Bennington, Vt., we wrote so frequently and with such zeal upon the subject as to induce that early pioneer, Benjamin Lundy, to make a pedestrian tour from Baltimore to the Green Mountains, in order to persuade us to remove to that city, and unite with him in editing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*—changing it from a monthly to a weekly publication. We accordingly made our arrangements to join him in 1829, and did so. It was in Baltimore, in that year, that we first hoisted the banner of immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation, abandoned the idea of engaging in any other pursuit or profession while a slave remained to clank his fetters, and consecrated whatever of intellect or moral power might be given to us in the service of bleeding humanity. Thirty-six years have elapsed, therefore, since we first heard the cries of the enslaved in our land, and began to plead for their deliverance. We are addressing another generation than that with which we commenced; nevertheless, as we were only twenty-three years of age at the start, we are not yet venerable in years, as some imagine us to be. When Parson Brownlow was introduced to us at the Baltimore Convention in June last, he remarked, "You are not as old a man as I supposed." Secretary Stanton and President Lincoln both made the same declaration on our introduction to them at Washington. The mistake arising naturally from the supposition, that we were considerably more advanced in life at the beginning of our labors. But if length of days is to be measured by unremitted service and persevering effort—by discoveries made and changes wrought in the condition of the country—by personal experiences and eventful vicissitudes—by the triumph of a hated but righteous cause over the combined prejudices and passions of a mighty population—then we are entitled to a seat among the aged. For what of agitation, of discussion, of violence, of treachery, of fidelity, of moral grandeur, of radical progress, of conflict and of victory, has not been compressed within less than two score years in this torn and bleeding land! Torn and bleeding, not because we promulgated any false doctrines or resorted to any unjustifiable measures, but because it was in accordance with eternal justice that the foul demon of slavery, in being cast out, should rend the body politic, and seek in his fury to destroy it. "We would have healed Babylon [the South], but she is not healed; for her judgment reacheth unto the heaven. Her whole land shall be confounded, and all her slain shall fall in the midst of her. Then the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon; for the spoilers shall come unto her from the north, saith the Lord."

We are not unfrequently asked, whether we ever expected to live to see the marvellous revolution which has taken place in the views and feelings of the people, as to the duty and necessity of the prompt and utter extinction of slavery. Our reply is, that we were never much given to conjecture on the subject. It must be remembered that nothing, comparatively, had been revealed, at the outset, as to the spirit and purpose of the Slave Power, or the total subjugation of the North to its terrible will. As a student, an explorer, an "agitator," we had almost everything to learn. We knew absolutely nothing of the ramifications of the slave system, east and west, north and south; nothing of its sorcery power over the literature and politics, the manufactures and commerce, the theology and religion of the falsely called non-slaveholding or free States; nothing of the strength and virulence of complexional caste, poisoning the blood and inspiring the action of all classes of the people, often to a murderous extent. Certainly, we did not seek or expect to take a conspicuous part in the struggle for its overthrow; and therefore we confidently looked, in our simplicity and trustfulness, to the leading men in Church and State—especially in the Church and among the clergy, whom we had been educated greatly to reverence—to go forward, assume its responsibilities, meet its issues, and receive the laudation, "Well done, good and faithful servants! Enter ye into the joy of your Lord!" Of course, in this frame of mind and state of ignorance, we were somewhat sanguine that, though the conflict might be sharp, it would not in all probability be greatly extended. But it did not take us long to be undeceived in the matter. The painful revelation, day by day, hour by hour, made in regard to the utter corruption and abject subserviency of the Northern heart and mind, and their multifarious acts of complicity with slavery—in addition to the fiendish manifestations towards all who denounced that system on the part of the Southern "brokers in the trade of blood," proved that the disease was deep-seated and desperate; so that it seemed more and more doubtful whether recovery was possible. No matter how tender the appeals in behalf of the oppressed; no matter how undeniable their claims to sympathy and relief; no matter how fundamental and time-honored the principles enunciated in opposition to such a barbarous institution; no matter how exemplary their conduct, or humane and Christian the sentiments avowed by the anti-slavery men and women of the day; these were all met with bitter denunciation, coarse ridicule, religious anathems, fiery persecution, mobocratic violence, and universal proscription. "Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder; for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord, and their works are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? Surely your turnings of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay." And so, for a score of years before the present rebellion, we felt solemnly impelled to deal in the language of warning, impeachment, and hot rebuke, sparing neither sect nor party, neither priest nor politician, neither Constitution nor Union; and crying aloud, in prophetic language, in season and out of season, "Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin; that walk to GO DOWN INTO EGYPT, and have not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves IN THE STRENGTH OF PHARAOH, and to trust IN THE SHADOW OF EGYPT! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion."

And how exactly applicable was this language to this whole nation, and especially to all the Northern portion of it, in the idiotic reliance placed upon the pro-slavery compromises with the South as ensuring the perpetuity of a most unnatural and iniquitous Union! And how literally has the threatened "woe" been executed upon the land, in a civil war of unparalleled magnitude, the soil gory with human blood, the sky and sea lurid with the flames of retaliatory conflagration, the Union dashed in pieces as a potter's vessel is broken! Where, now, is "the strength of Pharaoh"? and who but the vilely desperate or the incurably insane propose once more to "trust in the shadow of Egypt"? "Who is the wise man that may understand this? and who is he to whom the mouth of the Lord hath spoken, that he may declare it, *for what the land perisheth and is burned up like a wilderness?*.....Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth; but IN THESE THINGS I DELIGHT, saith the Lord."

The precise manner of our national punishment was hidden from all eyes, but of its certainty and severity none who believed in the indissoluble connection of retribution with sin could doubt. It was solely with reference to slavery—then comparatively insignificant, that Thomas Jefferson, at an early day, exclaimed—"I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that his justice will not sleep forever." As that vast system of robbery and cruelty is the essential cause of this awful visitation, so its instant and total abolition will give the land rest, stop the effusion of blood, and procure for us, as a people, an enduring union based on liberty and justice for all, whereby our peace shall be like a river, and our prosperity as the waves of the sea.

ENFRANCHISED MISSOURI.

[THOMAS C. FLETCHER, the newly chosen Radical Emancipation Governor of Missouri, was inaugurated at the Capital of the State Jan. 2d. We present extracts from his Inaugural Message:]

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES: In the name of Truth, of Justice, of Freedom and of Progress, God has permitted us a political triumph, bringing with it the solemn responsibility of promoting those great principles for an enforcement of the fundamental law for securing the peace, happiness and prosperity of the people of the State.

Through the blood and fire of a civil war, we have attained to a new era, effulgent with the glory of the decree of the people, in their sovereign capacity, emancipating themselves from servitude to principles and policies which have weighed down their energies, opposed barriers to their progress, and armed the hand of treason for the shedding of patriot blood.

The only instance in the world's history of a rebellion against an existing government, in the name and for the sake of slavery, has resulted in the enlargement of liberty; and the retributive Nemesis has sent the system of slavery crashing down to hopeless destruction, in the conflagration of a civil strife lighted by its own hand.

All men fit to be citizens and partakers of the common rights accorded men in civilized communities, must regard, and treat as final and conclusive, the recent deliberate and solemn verdict of the people of Missouri, rendered in the full exercise of reason restored by the calamities of the war, in favor of closing the gates of Janus, and restoring the power of the civil law, and against the mad attempts to defy the authority of the National government. The civilized world, which has been observant of, not less than our own community which has been participant in, this unparalleled conflict, must, in that verdict, acknowledge that the position of Missouri in the van of free and progressive States whose attachment to the Union defies earthly power to rend, is as enduring as our own eternal and solid mountains of iron, which, based in the deep centre of our State, lift their firm brows toward the sky in colossal majesty.

Being victorious everywhere, let magnanimity now distinguish our action; and, having nothing more to ask for party, let us, forgetful of past differences, seek only to promote the general good of the people of the whole Commonwealth. While, therefore, we let past dangers teach us provision for future security, let us welcome to a participation in our common prosperity and greatness as a State all who unite with us in upholding and defending the authority of the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Missouri, of the laws enacted in pursuance thereof, and of the officers selected for their government.

Behind us we leave the wrecks of old institutions, and all the bitter memories of the terrible past; retaining only the lessons of wisdom our experience of them has taught us. Before us, glowing with promise and fruitful with hope, is the mighty Future; but be assured, that in readjusting the frame-work of our torn community to its requirements, we shall need, to enable us to grasp that promise and realize that hope, all the energies of our truest and best citizens.

In point of physical advantage, in the combination of all the elements of wealth, in the invitations that are held out to enterprise, and in the magnificent and swift rewards that wait on industry, no area on the Western Continent containing an equal number of square miles can compare with our own State. While embracing a greater number of acres of good agricultural land than any other State in the Union, Missouri has more iron than all the other States combined; lead in greater quantities than elsewhere discovered in the world; mines of cobalt and zinc, and lodes of copper; whole districts of country underlaid with strata of coal; almost illimitable forests of the most useful timber, including the giant resiniferous pine, inviting the hand of unshackled industry and liberal enterprise, to gather their wealth; prairie and forest diversified everywhere by streams affording unequalled water-power; one of the largest rivers of the world flowing through her centre; and another, washing the whole length of her border.

In contemplating our natural resources, gratitude for their bestowment and pride in their possession struggle for the ascendency; and we are more grateful and prouder still, in reflecting upon the heroic resolution with which our noble State has shaken off a thraldom fatal to prosperity and at war with justice—has buried the dead past, and advanced the standard of freedom as the emblem of her future faith. We have every reason to incite us henceforth to great achievement. We have a State that promises to be the grand central figure of a cluster of Republics victoriously emergent, with new splendor, from the recent conflict of industrial systems. There is enough of accomplishment already attained, to nerve us on to the labor of regenerating our political structure, so as to cause it to blaze in the sight of the nations of the earth, the brightest gem in the diadem of Liberty.

Henceforth Missouri shall be an asylum for all nationalities and races; the repository of wealth, and a theatre for the development of the labor and enterprise of the hand and spirit of industry; and the home of free thought, free speech, and a free press, where the prejudices of caste and class have no legal embodiment or political encouragement. She shall be a central mart for the interchange of the products of the North and the South, the East and the West, through the rivers of her great basin, and the system of railways centering in her metropolis. She shall be a highway for the commerce of the two oceans, borne by the inland transit lines that carry the freights between Europe and Asia. She shall proffer a secure and guarded repose to all consciences and all religious beliefs, untied by any secular control, yet upheld and encircled by public sentiment upon which faith in God has taken a new hold from the experiences of an unparalleled national preservation.

Let it be announced that, in the new era which has come, ours is to be the first of States, with the largest freedom and the widest charities. Let ours be a State where, with the administration of inflexible justice, the abandonment of mere partyisms, and the domination of industrial politics, all the advancements of statute law progress towards combining labor and capital, rather than placing them in the cruel antagonisms of the past; where the light of hope is shut out by the fundamental law from no human being, of whatever race, creed or color, but where a free people—heeding the stroke of inevitable destiny on the horologe of time in the great crisis of changeful progress—guards the right of permitting the position and privileges of every man to be such as his virtues, talents, education, patriotism, enterprise, industry, courage or achievements may confer upon him.

Another decade of years brings the labor of revising our statutes, increased by the necessity of conforming them to the new constitutional provisions about to be made. Great care should be taken, in framing our general laws, to prevent special legislation, by obviating, as far as possible, its necessity.

The amendment to the Constitution will require the erasure of the word "slave" from our statutes, the abolition of all distinctions of color in the law relating to crimes and their punishment, and the abrogation of all laws for the fostering and protection of the interests of slavery.

The act concerning elections will, it is hoped, have to be so amended as to meet the requirements of new constitutional provisions for guarding the palladium of our liberties from the wily and unscrupulous approach and unsanctified touch of alien enemies, whose hands are stained with the blood of Union men, of traitors who have alienated themselves by flight beyond the jurisdiction of the United States to avoid duty to the government or escape punishment for the crime of treason, and of men, who have written their own infamy by enrolling themselves as in ten their own infamy by enrolling themselves as in sympathy with rebellion, and who have not since erased it by the services and conduct of patriots. Effectually to guard the ballot-box, a law is necessary requiring a registration of qualified voters in each county, and permitting only those to vote who are thus registered. Men who have by rebellion disavowed allegiance to the government should be permitted to regain the privileges of citizenship only through the means provided by the naturalization laws of the United States; while to the liberty-loving foreigner, who makes his home under the government of his choice, and for which he is willing to fight, liberal laws should be enacted as soon as permitted by the letter of the State Constitution, shortening the probationary term preceding his investment with the elective franchise, for all the purposes of State elections.

To secure the return of the Union men who, unable to fight, have sought safety in the free States, it is only necessary for them to know that the military policy now adopted in Arkansas and Missouri will prevent a return of the armies of the enemy to our State; that the united action of our own people will soon free us of the lawless depredators who in small bodies yet infest some parts of the State; that loyal men will be secure in life and property, while traitors wanting security to either will cease to trouble the peace of the State; that the policy of the Department of the Missouri is, unheralded, silently, but effectually, to stamp enduring peace on the State, and ere long to make the voice of the law potential in all its hitherto silent forums; and that free Missouri, like all other free States, will only hear the distant clash of arms without interruption to the prosperity of her people.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH—THE NEW MANIFESTATIONS.

From the Times.

FOR the first time during the last four years, or since the great Southern rebellion began, we now begin to see some indications of that for which we have always looked so anxiously and so vainly—some indications that the imperious, defiant, rebellious spirit of the Southern people is beginning to break. It is not merely in the measures of policy adopted by the rebels that we see this; for the grounds, the import, the bearing, the purpose and the effect of their measures may often be misjudged by us; and for more than two years past they have very often acted in a way that can be characterized as no other than desperate or despairing. But under it all, in all circumstances and amid all fortunes, the popular temper, so far as we could judge it through its exponent, the press, has been unyielding of its devotion to the rebellion, and unflinching in faith in its final success. There has been temporary despondency often enough, but there is a great difference between despondency and its indications, and the indications of despair. As might have been expected, and as is natural, the most constant and extreme assertions of this unbending spirit of the rebellion have been from the press of Richmond.

It is this very Richmond press, not one journal but all of them—the *Sentinel*, the special organ of Jeff. Davis, as well as the *Examiner*, his most vigorous critic—that now come to us filled with articles such as we have not had from any Southern source since the war began. They speak openly of the fact that the spirit of the South has of late been giving way; they acknowledge that the moral strength of the rebellion is breaking down; they do not attempt to conceal the falling off of popular devotion, the sinking of public faith, the departing of hope, the advance of despair. The *Whig*, to make some show, has been publishing a series of articles to prove that there is superabundance of military power yet left in the South, that there are still hundreds of thousands of men, according to the census, who can be compelled to take up arms; but the *Examiner* very pertinently asks what all this amounts to, if the spirit and energy of the people are passing away?

While we find on every hand these confessions of hopelessness in their success, the rebels have not yet reached the point of talking of submission. That we do not expect to hear. The other is quite as much as can be expected of them, or of human nature, under the circumstances; and is an indication that deserves to be studied and valued. Instead of speaking of submission or reunion, they are giving the most awful histories of their horrors, and earnestly and loudly proclaim that either abolitionism or colonial vassalage to a European Power would be preferable. The fact that they have got to the point of seriously proposing and urging such extraordinary measures, is in itself an evidence of their despairing condition of mind, only less striking than their confessions of despair.

The treatment that Gen. Sherman has extended to the people of Savannah will furnish to the now reflecting Southern people the best answer possible to rebel declamations about the unutterable horrors of submission to the power of the Union. In this view, as in many others, we rejoice over it; and the great body of the Southern people may be assured, that when they lay down the arms of their rebellion and submit to the laws and Constitution, they will find the government and the people of the North dealing with them with leniency and generosity and justice.

THE CRY OF DESPAIR.

OUR readers cannot have failed to read the remarkable articles we extracted yesterday from the Richmond *Sentinel* and the Richmond *Enquirer*. They contained the most distinct and unmistakable confession of failure that has yet come from rebeldom. If it be true, moreover, that the article in the *Sentinel* was written by Jefferson Davis himself—as the Richmond *Examiner* intimates—then it becomes still more important and authoritative.

These articles tell us, in almost so many words, that the Confederacy has sustained so many reverses of late that it is no longer able to defend itself effectively, and that it is time to look about for foreign assistance. How deep this conviction of its impotence is, is shown by the fact that these writers are willing to purchase foreign aid by the sacrifice of everything distinctive in Southern life. "If France

sent the success of our arms as a subjugation; to them indeed it is a subjugation; but to the people it is rather an emancipation and a relief. The Constitution and laws of the Union are so beneficent; the operations of the National government touch them so lightly and at so few points, that it is a gross abuse of words to call the reimposition of their authority a conquest or a subjugation. When Austria sends her troops into Venice, or England hers into India, to force upon the reluctant people strange modes of government, and a foreign authority, we may call the act a conquest; but when our Yankee troops penetrate the South, they do so to break off the fetters which a selfish oligarchy has rivetted around the necks of the masses. They go as deliverers, and will be so estimated in histories written by the children of the very men who are now most bitterly opposed to submission.—*Evening Post.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1865.

The price of the STANDARD now, our readers will bear in mind, is THREE DOLLARS per annum.

ALL HAIL, MISSOURI!

The Constitutional Convention of Missouri passed on Wednesday an ORDINANCE OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION, in the following words:—

"*Be it ordained by the People of the State of Missouri, in Convention assembled, that hereafter in this State there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and* ALL PERSONS HELD TO SERVICE OR LABOR AS SLAVES, ARE HEREBY DECLARED FREE."

The vote on the adoption of this Ordinance was: Yeas 60, Nays 4. Missouri is therefore a Free State, henceforth and forever. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord!

THE WEEK AND THE WORK.

This will be a very memorable week in American history. Reputations will be made for a future generation, or they will be killed out of the memory of the one now on the scene. It is not often in the political lifetime of a public man that the occasion offers to make himself perdurably illustrious. Such a time came to the men of the Continental Congress of 1776, when they greatly dared to create a new nation and to transform themselves by a stroke of the pen from rebel subjects into victorious citizens. This week, Time and Change bring about another chance for the nobly ambitious, for it affords the men now in Congress the opportunity of finishing the work only begun on that immortal Fourth of July, and which has been left ever since maimed and mischievously imperfect. Our readers will know the result, probably, before this sheet appears, of the attempt to pass the Amendment to the Constitution making slavery legally impossible throughout all the territory which it governs. We have strong hopes that it will pass the ordeal of the House of Representatives—its success in the Senate being an already established certainty. But whether or not, the accomplishment of the object is equally certain. The main difference will be to the men who might have connected their names with this greatest of our national actions, but who preferred to be loyal to a moribund party rather than to an immortal nationality. And in this very act of allegiance to a defunct political organization they are recreant to the very fundamental principles which ever gave that party a name to live. For all that is asked of them is to permit the People to express their sovereign pleasure as to the permanent law of their existence. Men, professing to believe in the sovereignty of the people, stand in the way of the exercise of that sovereignty, lest it should be used for the abolition of slavery! We trust that there will not be found many Democrats thus ready to stultify themselves and their principles at the same time.

But whether they do or not, the constitutional abolition of slavery may now be regarded as certain of becoming a fact as any event which has not actually occurred. It seems to be certain that the President will resort to the measure, which we suggested long ago, of calling a special session of the next Congress as soon as the Capitol is vacated by this one, should it not pass the Amendment. Of the action of that body there can be no doubt, and as little of its ratification by the requisite number of States. The sooner the glorious work is consummated the better, but it must be soon, even at the latest. It will be only the interval between the Fourth of March and the Fourth of July. We can hardly conceive that men of sufficient intelligence to be chosen to Congress can consent to inscribe their names on such a Martyrology of infamy as that which will record those of the confessors who shall have sacrificed their good name and their political future to an impotent devotion to slavery. But admitting the possibility of such self-abnegation, all they can do is to adjourn the glory of the action from the Thirty-Eighth to the Thirty-Ninth Congress. We Abolitionists, who have been waiting for this Salvation, in full and perfect faith, for five and thirty years, can submit to that delay, if it be made necessary by such insensate folly. And there is danger that these martyrs to a creed and a liturgy soon to become extinct, may find themselves deserted and despised by the very hierophants of this bloody superstition whom they have looked up to as the dispensers of the word of political life. For the arming of the slaves by the rebels would be equivalent to Emancipation. And, indeed, the very question of actual and formal Abolition is now openly discussed in a region where a whisper to that effect would have been followed by certain death. The slaveholders are less bigoted than their humble devotees at the North to their horrible system. They can adapt themselves better to circumstances and act on the impulse of the political moment, while their creatures and tools have to wait till the word of command reaches them. The simple possibility of the discussion of the question of Emancipation, either general or limited, to slaves armed to fight in defence of slavery, shows what a change has come over the spirit of the dream of the rebels. The vision of a continent given up to slavery, and they to rule it with absolute sway, has faded away forever. They now look only for the carrying of their point of a separate nationality as the best terms on which they can secure it.

The war and the extremities to which it has reduced the rebels has had the effect of changing the purpose for which it was begun. At first they looked to a *coup d'état* which should make slavery coextensive with the Republic, and the Republic coextensive with the continent. Now they see that they have perished, as to their designs, by the sword which they had taken to make them sure. With it they have cut away the ground of slavery from under their feet. Maryland and Missouri absolutely free, and Kentucky permitting resolutions for Immediate Emancipation to be offered in her Legislature, while even her Governor recommends a gradual process! The Richmond Pandemonium knows that the Constitutional Amendment will soon settle all these local questions, and sees that slavery is no longer tenable or worth keeping, if it were so. Its ruling spirits have, accordingly, fallen back from the position they at first held and which alone gave vitality to the rebellion, and now seek only to save their credit and their pride, and to have the revenge if not the victory which the disruption of the Union would imply. And, then, if slavery be dead, as they know it soon will be technically, as it now is virtually, why should they suffer it to be a mill-stone about their necks to hinder them from rising to the level of other nationalities? Slavery abolished, they could with a good grace apply again for recognition at the courts of civilized and barbarian Powers. Possibly, the blockade might be broken and assistance given them to help mutilate and disable the dangerous Republic of the West. And, then, the negroes might be better trusted to fight for an independence which would be crowned with their own liberty. They have let slip by the time when they might have been welcomed back again, pardoned prodigals, or rather triumphant victors, with their slaves chained to their chariot-wheels. They have exasperated the Nation up to the point of Emancipation. Lincoln's reelection is the proof and the seal of this fact. They may as well fight fire with fire, and obtain what reëforcement they may from action to which they must soon submit perforce if they do not initiate and carry it through themselves. We think that these motives may produce strange results in the Rebel councils. It has been announced that Gen. Lee was about to astonish the world. He could not do it more effectually than by decreeing the emancipation of all slaves in the Confederacy, in his capacity of Dictator, and calling them to the rescue of their liberators from the disgrace of utter failure.

But what a change in the face of affairs, to be brought about in the course of four little years! Four years ago the President could not pass openly through Maryland, for fear of slaveholding assassins. Now there is not a slaveholder or a slave on her soil. Then Missouri was the border-land whence hordes of slaveholding barbarians might rush to the plunder and massacre of her free neighbors. On Wednesday last slavery was abolished there by an Ordinance of Immediate Emancipation, passed by a vote of her people in Constitutional Convention assembled. Then Kentucky was the "dark and bloody ground" of slavery, saved only by National bayonets from casting herself into the abyss of rebellion. Now, her Governor proposes Gradual Emancipation, and men may offer resolutions for Immediate Emancipation to her Legislature and live. Then slavery possessed the whole South country by law and ruled all the North country by craft. Now, not a slave is legally held in any portion of the rebel region, through the effect of the Proclamation, and very soon not one will exist anywhere upon the soil of the United States through the Amendment. How small were the beginnings, how gradual the progress, how magnificent the results of this mighty moral, social and political revolution! Its cost has been great, but it is worth it all. For it has delivered the nation from the fetters which held it back from its just place at the head of civilization, and the iron of which entered into its inmost soul. With the completion of this revolution the year 1865 will be forever associated. And so will be the names of the men to whose action it will be due in the final settlement of this question of the age.

THE CRY OF "PEACE! PEACE!"

Old Mr. Blair started again for Richmond on Saturday last, and no doubt went straight through to his destination, as he had passes this time from the Rebel authorities, civil and military, for want of which his first attempt was a failure. The Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* says:

"It is known here that Mr. Blair will propose to the Davis government a scheme of pacification, resting fundamentally on a return of the rebellious States to the Union. Whatever political and moral advantages may be derived to us from this tender of the olive branch, no hope is entertained here that Mr. Blair's mission will have the success of initiating negotiations for peace. The condition of reunion will be fatal to his or any other envoy's labors."

Per contra, the correspondent of the Associated Press, under date of Tuesday, says:

"The present speculations about peace movements, which have been the subject of comment both in loyal and rebel newspapers, rest on a weak foundation. It is safe to say that no person, either authorized or unauthorized, has lately left Washington for the front on an errand of peace, or with a view to consult the rebel authorities concerning the existing difficulties."

The *Tribune*, with eyes distended to the dimensions of saucers, tries to persuade itself that this mission of Mr. Blair will lead to most important results. We quote:

"We cherish no expectations of peace as an immediate result of this overture. We presume Mr. Blair visits Richmond only as an eminent and honored citizen, who is familiar with the views and enjoys the confidence of the President, and who is sincerely desirous of staunching the current of fraternal bloodshed, if that shall be found compatible with the duty of the loyal millions and their government to their country and to posterity. He does not (we infer) go clothed with power to make peace, but authorized to ascertain and competent to judge whether any true peace is now attainable. And this, we presume, he will be able to do.

"What we hope from this effort is a clearer understanding, especially at the South, of the grounds of difference between the contending parties—the reasons which on either side are held to compel a continuance of the strife—the ends for which further bloodshed is deemed necessary. These conclusively ascertained and definitely set before the people, we look for developments throughout the South, and especially in North Carolina, which will render a persistence in the rebellion unavailing if not impossible.

"Of course, we have no knowledge of what will be proposed on one side or the other. The end we contemplate (as we observed on a former occasion) will be subserved rather than defeated by the Confederate chiefs riding the high horse and insisting on terms that are utterly, glaringly inadmissible. Hence, we shall be less annoyed than many others on learning that Mr. Blair's mission has wholly failed, and that he is returning defeated to Washington. We have very little hope of hearing, for the present, anything else."

We agree with the *Evening Post* and the *Times* that no good is likely to come of these amateur efforts at diplomacy. The former well says:

"These knight-errants of peace, who wander away to Richmond to see what can be done, and who invariably come back chopfallen, like Don Quixote when the facetious ladies of the court persuaded him to try the office of pacificator, produce this deplorable bad effect: they give the wily leaders of the rebellion occasion to report to all their lieges that our government is tired of the war, that it is soliciting a cessation of hostilities, that its means are exhausted, that its purpose has failed, that its campaigns have miscarried, that it admits the South can never be conquered, that it fears foreign intervention, and a whole buzzing swarm of similar lies and illusions. No; our best peacemakers yet are Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan and Farragut, and the black-mouthed bull-dogs by which they enforce their persuasions over more than half of what was once an 'impregnable' part of rebeldom."

Very Suspicious.—A letter from J. H. Chrisman, a member of the Rebel Congress, was captured in Virginia by Gen. Burbridge. We give an extract, which throws suspicion upon the loyalty of that recreant son of New England, George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville *Journal*:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 3, 1864.

Dr. Marsh: There is nothing very new in this town, save the arrival of George D. Prentice of the Louisville *Journal*. His excuse for coming is to see his son, who is indicted for murder. He represents that Kentucky is in truly a deplorable condition, and the worst state of despotism reigns there.

The Feds. have his partner, Shipley, prisoner bound, and would have done him so, but for fear of public sentiment. He says that before he left, Bramlette visited him, knowing that he was coming, and that he represents his sentiments when he says, there is great dissatisfaction with the government of the United States existing among the people of the State, and that all the people would rise up if an army could go there. He says to our people that we had all better be buried in one common grave than go back into the Union; that our only hope is to fight on; extermination being preferable to subjugation.

He talks more encouragingly than any of our own people, and has imparted new life to some of them.

The Feds. have sent out Frank Wolford and Lieut.-Gov. Jacobs, as Ould, the Commissioner of Exchange, informed me yesterday. The Louisville *Journal* of the 25th, however, stated that the matter has been reconsidered, and they are permitted to return. He had a private interview with the Secretary of War, and expresses a strong desire to see Davis; but up to this time has not been invited to see His Majesty, as Foote would say.

I should have remarked when talking about what Prentice says, that he further remarked that the people of Kentucky were looking with the profoundest interest to Hood's move, and many desire that he shall enter the State.

That Prentice, if not not a rebel, has strong sympathies with the South, is clear from the course he has pursued for the last four years. If he uttered in Richmond the sentiments attributed to him by Mr. Chrisman, he deserves a traitor's fate.

The Constitutional Amendment, contrary to general expectation, has not yet been brought to a vote in the House, many members desiring an opportunity to speak for or against it.

NOTE FROM M. D. CONWAY.

28 NOTTING HILL SQUARE, BAYSWATER,
W. LONDON, Dec. 7.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

In your reply to my question, *Whether you would support the war were slavery not involved in it at all*, you are not direct; but nevertheless I must suppose you to really mean that you, and, in your opinion, the Abolitionists generally, would sustain a civil war for the sake of the territorial and governmental Union, pure and simple. (It is not the question whether you would believe the South if it should promise abolition, or non-reëstablishment of slavery: security of these is supposed to be obtained.) In other words, when *black* families were the sufferers, the Union was nought in the balance; but were it only the desolation of *white* families, North and South, that the Union would then imply, you would say—*Fight for that Union to the bitter end!* That which you would have destroyed for the devastated negro's sake, you will not give up now though you must reach it only over the crushed hearts and homes of thousands! I must wait before believing that these are the views of Abolitionists. As I understand them, they, opposed to all war, accepted without rebuke this civil war, as the better alternative of that chronic and mean war of the strong against the defenceless which slavery essentially was; and that were this civil war to become simply the alternative of Peace and Right without the Union, they would universally bear witness against it. They would oppose a Union that meant war, as they did a Union that meant slavery.

Yours, truly,
M. D. CONWAY.

EDITOR'S REPLY.

Abolitionists of our school opposed the Union, not because they did not appreciate its territorial and governmental advantages, but solely upon the ground that its conditions, as expressed in the Constitution, were immoral. Those conditions being made void by the rebellion, the ground of our opposition is removed; and those reasons for supporting the Union, which we did not deem worthy a moment's consideration when weighed against a moral principle, are now entitled to very grave consideration. Whether the Union, thus purified, is of sufficient importance to justify a war for its maintenance, is a question which will be answered differently by Abolitionists, according as they are or are not believers in the rightfulness of war for any purpose. The Abolitionists, as a body, were pledged to use peaceful means alone for the abolition of slavery; and that pledge was just as binding after the rebellion broke out as before—is as binding to-day as it ever was. But Abolitionists, acting upon their individual responsibility, were from the first at perfect liberty to maintain the right of the slaves to break their chains by insurrection, and to assist them in doing so. They were at liberty also, when the rebellion broke out, to offer their aid to the government in putting it down; and, slavery being out of the way, they are at liberty to judge, each for himself, whether the National government would be justified in persisting in its attempt to subdue the rebellion. They as a body have pronounced no opinion on this question—wholly hypothetical as yet—neither have they authorized us any more than Mr. Conway to speak in their behalf. Our belief is, however, that the great majority of such of them as are not Non-Resistants would, in the supposed contingency, be in favor of continuing the war for the restoration of the Union, and that not for any purpose of territorial aggrandizement, but in the interest of humanity and free government the world over.

We must correct Mr. Conway upon another point. It was not, as he supposes, "for the devastated negro's sake" alone, but for the sake of humanity, white as well as black, and in the interest of freedom and free government universally, that Abolitionists of our school sought by peaceful means to destroy a pro-slavery Union. And those Abolitionists who, not being Non-Resistants but believers in the rightfulness of war, would support the government in putting down the rebellion for the purpose of restoring the Union, would do so, we presume, for the sake of the negro no less than the white man. How a war for such a purpose, with 150,000 black soldiers in the field, can be understood to imply "*only* the desolation of *white* families, North and South," is not apparent to our comprehension. Mr. Conway's logic is evidently lame at this point.

A CHAT WITH THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

I have just been reading, in your paper of the 24th ult., an admirable sonnet to Edmonia Lewis, which I presume is written by Mrs. Waterston; at all events, it is worthy of her pen.

To my mind, there is something peculiarly interesting in the fact that this little Edmonia comes, from basket-weaving and moccason-embroidery, in lonely forests among the Chippewas, to live shut up in a little studio, and try her young hand at "making the forms of things," as she modestly expressed it to me. That a person who does this is linked with both African and Indian ancestry is one among many striking signs of the times, showing how the lines of demarcation between classes and races are melting away in the powerful sunshine of this All Souls' Day.

The first efforts of Edmonia Lewis seemed to me to indicate plainly that Nature had given her an eye for "the forms of things." But I, with my sixty years of observation, knew better than she could what a long and difficult hill she had to climb before she could reach the summit of her Art. And I confess when she first mentioned her intention of making a bust of Col. Shaw from photographs, I feared she would make a lamentable failure. But when I went to see the bust in clay, I was very agreeably surprised. She had indeed "wrought well with her unpractised hand." I thought the likeness extremely good, and the refined face had a firm yet sad expression, as of one going consciously, though willingly, to martyrdom, for the rescue of his country and the redemption of a race. As the clay needed moistening, she took water from a vase near by and reverentially sprinkled the head. The sight of that little brown hand thus tenderly baptizing the "fair-haired Saxon hero" affected me deeply, and I saw that it made a similar impression on Mrs. Chapman, who was with me. We both felt that there was something inexpressibly beautiful and touching in the efforts of a long-oppressed race to sanctify the memory of their martyr. Indeed, I think the deep feeling of admiration and gratitude, which the artist felt for the young hero whose lineaments she traced, was one great reason why she succeeded so well.

As we went out into the street, she said to me, "If I were a Spiritualist, I should think Col. Shaw came to aid me about that bust; for I thought, and thought, and thought how handsome he looked when he passed through the streets of Boston with his regiment; and I thought, and thought, and thought how he must have looked when he led them to Fort Wagner; and at last it seemed to me as if he was actually in the room." Assuredly, this is the spirit in which an artist ought to work. I believe nothing is done truly well, in literature or art, unless it is wrought with intensity of spirit.

The interview excited a train of thought which often passes through my mind. I reflected how great changes in human affairs were often foreshadowed by a mysteriously pervasive atmosphere of ideas. At the present epoch, Africa is everywhere uppermost in the thoughts and feelings of mankind. It is difficult, even for the most indifferent, to avoid being interested about this tropical race, in one way or another, for or against. How many speakers and writers have expended their best energies in their behalf! How long have anxious politicians seen the shadow of a black man rising behind every speaker in Congress or caucus! What an uneasy feeling the ministers have had that their congregations saw the same shadow in their pulpits! So pervasive is the atmosphere, that artists are breathing it also. Passing through the soul of Story, it came forth in the shape of an African Sybil; and so strangely fascinating was the subject, that the statue attracted more attention than any other in the grand exhibition. From Miss Whitney's poetic mind it comes out in the shape of Africa Waking from Sleep. On the canvass of Carlton, it assumes the form of a Midnight Watch for Freedom. In music, it has as yet only been manifested in Ethiopian Songs, breathing the deep sadness, or the reckless merriment of human souls in bondage. But it will find grander utterance, as the years pass on. Some future composer will give us the Prayer of a *black* Moses in tones as inspired as those of Rossini. Operas will embody the romantic adventures of beautiful fugitive slaves; and the *prima donna* will not need to represent an Octoroon, for men will come to admire the dark, glowing beauty of tropical flora, as much as the violets and lilies of the North.

This singularly pervasive atmosphere of ideas has entered into commerce also. Livingston is sent to explore the rivers, lakes, and harbors of Africa, with the view of increasing her wants. The object is gold, but the result will be civilization. The French are emigrating to the Northern part, and the British to the Southern part; while a flourishing colored republic is growing up in the Western part. But perhaps the most significant sign of the times is William Crafts, escaping from slavery in the enlightened republic of the United States to go as missionary to the king of Dahomey, for the freedom and improvement of his race.

Who can tell what the revolving wheel of time may bring uppermost, in the revolutions of the ages? Babylon the Great has vanished; and what was in *her* days of glory merely a small island of tatooed savages is now a mighty empire, on which the sun never sets. Greece has passed away and left only the ghost of her surpassing beauty; and a new Atlantis, of which her poets prophesied, has risen from the then unknown ocean of the West. The Star of Africa has risen above the horizon, but what will be its splendor when it culminates no prophet can foresee.

L. M. C.

THEODORE TILTON AT THE WEST.

We informed our readers, some time since, that our gifted friend, Theodore Tilton, the Editor of the *Independent*, had gone to the West to fulfil a series of engagements as a lecturer. It affords us great satisfaction to state that he has been very cordially and even enthusiastically received by the Western people, and that he has spoken in many cities and towns, usually to crowded audiences, and invariably to the general edification of his hearers. At Chicago he delivered the address at the opening of the Western Freedmen's Fair. A gentleman of that city, after saying that the Fair had proved a great success, netting some $10,000, adds: "But the tour of Mr. Tilton we reckon scarcely less valuable to us than the Fair itself. It, too, has proved a great success in every sense. He has shown us a golden manhood, and has seen with wondering eyes the magnificent West. He has spoken to us noble words, and has seen them welcomed with a grand enthusiasm. The tame editorial enclosed from the Chicago *Tribune* falls far below the mark."

The article from the *Tribune*, to which our correspondent alludes, is as follows:

"After a brief but very busy tour among a series of the towns and cities of Northern Illinois and Wisconsin, yet responding to but a tithe of his pressing invitations from various points, Theodore Tilton has left this city for Springfield, St. Louis and Cincinnati, at which places he will fill appointments to speak on the questions of the day. Mr. Tilton is to be heartily congratulated for the success of his Western tour. He came to Chicago, it will be remembered, at the invitation of the committee in charge, to deliver the Inaugural Address of the Great Northwestern Freedmen's Fair, which he did to the delight of the large audience that filled Metropolitan Hall. Since that occasion many thousand Western hearers have listened to and been thrilled by his burning and eloquent utterances in behalf of Truth, Justice and Liberty, the sole arbiters of the great questions of our time. We think Mr. Tilton will go back to the seaboard fully impressed with the radicalism of the great Northwest, and the flattering and sincere attentions paid him are none the less paid to the sentiments of which he is the fearless exponent. Earnest, eloquent, with powers of language adequate to the expression of earnest thoughts, Mr. Tilton has found the liberty-loving men of our communities he has visited, applauding to the echo his most radical sentiments, for with men of his stamp, *Radicalism* is referred to its derivative meaning. The evil he combats, the evil of our time, must be treated at *the root*. The welfare of the white race must be sought by justice and humanity to the blacks. Many new-found friends west of the lakes will follow Mr. Tilton with warm and earnest good wishes for his welfare."

While in Chicago Mr. Tilton, says the Alton *Telegraph*, was honored by a novel and memorable "surprise party"—a banquet, said to have been the most elegant ever given in that city. The table-cloth and bills of fare being of heavy white satin, and the whole entertainment of sumptuous richness. But the chief significance of the testimonial was the fact that it was given by a former *fugitive slave*, who having some years ago escaped from the South, is now his own master in Chicago, and who, being in a thrifty business, chose an elegant mode of testifying his gratitude to one whom he had heard argue in Chicago against the Black Laws of Illinois. Mr. Tilton's entertainer was Mr. Ambrose. Some of the best-known citizens of the city were present on the occasion. It is hardly necessary to add that the speeches were in the vein of democratic equality.

Of Mr. Tilton's visit to St. Louis a correspondent gives an account in another column, in addition to which we copy the following from the St. Louis *Democrat* of Jan. 2d.

THEODORE TILTON.

On last Saturday night this gentleman addressed a goodly number of our citizens upon the "Condition of the Country." We expect in a day or two to give our readers the benefit of his masterly address. All who heard it pronounced it able and eloquent. Said one of our most prominent citizens, when listening to it, "The expression of such sentiments in Mercantile Library Hall four years ago would have blown the roof off the building."

Theodore Tilton is one of the live men of the day. He is a soldier of progress. Few men of the present day have done better work for the good cause than he has done. His visit to our city and the impression he has made upon our people must add to the high estimation in which he has been held in the West.

As an evidence of the appreciation which Mr. Tilton's labors have realized, we give a very significant invitation he received while in this city, signed by a large majority of the members of the Missouri Legislature, to visit our State Capital, and there address the people. The invitation conveys its own moral:

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo, December 27, 1864.

THEODORE TILTON, *Esq., Editor New York Independent*:

SIR: A few years since the "Mercantile Library Association" of St. Louis invited your coadjutor, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, to lecture in that city, with the proviso that he would not intrude his peculiar reform ideas upon the community. Times and men have changed since then. To-day, ideas, and not the slave-driver's lash, rule the nation, and freedom of speech and of the press prevail in Missouri.

The *Radical Union Anti-Slavery* members of the Missouri Legislature cordially invite you to visit this city and lecture. Bring your views with you, and express yourself freely.

For Freedom, yours.

Mr. Tilton, on account of previous engagements, is unable to comply with the above call, and has already gone East to address the people at various points on his journey homeward. In his travels through the West he has everywhere met the most flattering reception, and we hope the impression he has received of the country and its people may induce him soon to renew his acquaintance with them.

LETTER FROM REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

SYRACUSE, Jan. 5, 1865.

My Dear Friend: You have my best wishes for the year on which we have just entered. It is undoubtedly a year pregnant with great events. If the proceedings of the citizens of Savannah be genuine and sincere it will probably be followed as a good example by the people of many other places.

But I sometimes fear that we of the Northern States have been so deeply implicated in the sin of slavery; have so countenanced and sustained the Southerners in their oppression of the colored people, that we shall not be let off by a just God, with only the slight chastisement that we have hitherto received.

In their desperation, the rebels may summon their slaves to their aid and ensure their loyalty to them, and fire them to deeds of valor, by the promise of freedom to themselves and families, and permanent homes on the lands, which they so long have lived upon. Unfortunately for us, the poor slaves are under no obligations to us, owe us no gratitude, and may be persuaded that it will be better for themselves to be liberated by their oppressors than by the enemies of their oppressors, who yet have never been friendly to themselves.

If two or three hundred thousand slaves should thus be brought into the field against us, they might become a formidable foe. And if Lee could succeed in getting a large army into the northern part of Pennsylvania, he would there be reinforced by many thousands of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," and the "Sons of Liberty" and other Copperheads, and thus the civil war would be brought to our homes. But let us hope for better things.

* * * * * * * * *

I hope to do something more for your paper. We must keep it and the *Liberator* alive until slavery is utterly dead, and buried.

Yours, affectionately,
SAMUEL J. MAY.

"The Universal Safety Match," advertised and particularly described in our columns this week, is an article which, after trial, we can conscientiously recommend as superior to everything else of its kind. Its advantages are in no respect exaggerated, and we expect that it will eventually supersede all the other Matches hitherto invented. Try it for your selves.

THE THIRTY-FIRST NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was organised for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in the United States. Its labors have been unremittedly prosecuted, "without compromise and without concealment," for a period of thirty years, through lecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of anti-slavery publications, the support of an official weekly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these labors is largely due, primarily, that cheering and marvellous change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery and in support of free institutions, which has taken place in all the loyal States, and which enables the government to maintain successfully its tremendous conflict with the Southern Slaveholders' Rebellion. But slavery is not yet abolished, even in the Rebel States, except by the proclamation of President Lincoln; and it still holds a tenacious existence even in some of the so-called loyal sections of the country. Not until its utter extirpation everywhere should the American Anti-Slavery Society be disbanded, or regard its mission as consummated, or be left without the necessary pecuniary aid to carry on its ordinary operations. Its time to dissolve will be when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof, by the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States, making it illegal to enslave any person on the American soil. That grand and glorious event, it is confidently hoped and believed, will take place during the coming year, inasmuch as the potential sentiment of the people in regard to it was indicated by an overwhelming majority at the late Presidential election, and inasmuch as President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, urges this constitutional amendment upon that body for speedy adoption. Thank God that the year 1865 is, in all probability, to be the long desired YEAR OF JUBILEE!

Once more, then—and we trust for the last time—let the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society be replenished by the generous donations and contributions of those who have so long given it their countenance; and also of those who, regenerated in their views and feelings on the question of slavery, have yet to show their appreciation of the invaluable labors of the Society in disseminating light and knowledge, quickening conscience, elevating the moral standard of individual and national conduct, and vindicating the rights of human nature on the broad platform of universal freedom and equality. From all loyal men and women the Society is especially deserving of consideration and coöperative support for its prompt and uncompromising hostility to the rebellion, and to whatever at the North has been in sympathy with the rebels; and for the strong moral support and hearty sympathy it has given to the government in its long and bloody conflict with the Slave Power.

The Managers of the Subscription Anniversary hereby announce that they will be ready to receive, with all thankfulness, whate ver the philanthropic, the liberal-minded, and the patriotic, throughout the land, at home or abroad, may feel disposed to contribute, at its annual gathering at Boston, on Wednesday evening, January 25th, 1865; and to this convocation of the friends of impartial liberty they cordially invite all who desire to aid in breaking every yoke, and setting every captive free. And may the result abundantly meet the necessities of an association, whose crown of glory is its unswerving fidelity, through years of conflict and martyrdom, to the "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence!

Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to William I. Bowditch, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. All such will be duly acknowledged and faithfully expended.

L. Maria Child,
Mary May,
Louisa Loring,
Henrietta Sargent,
Helen Eliza Garrison,
Sarah Shaw Russell,
Sarah Russell May,
Anna Shaw Greene,
Sarah Blake Shaw,
Caroline C. Thayer,
Lydia D. Parker,
Caroline E. Putnam,
Mattie Griffith,
Mary Jackson,
Evelina A. Smith,
Sarah Bradford,
Caroline M. Severance,
Elizabeth Gay,
Mary Willey,
Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Sarah J. Nowell,
Elizabeth von Arnim,
Abby H. Stephenson,
Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Cowing,
Sarah H. Southwick,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Sarah C. Atkinson,
Abby Francis,
Georgina Otis,
Katharine Earle Farnum,
Rebecca Bradford,
Ellen Wright Garrison.

As Mrs. Child's post office address is at Wayland, she requests that contributions to the approaching Anti-Slavery Anniversary, sent previous to the day of meeting, may be directed to one of the ladies residing in Boston, or to the Treasurer (Mr. Bowditch), as above.

THEODORE TILTON IN ST. LOUIS.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 3d, 1865.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I see but few letters in the columns of your valuable paper dating from the West, and I want you to know that in this, the dawn of a new year, Abolitionism stretches its hand from the western bank of the Mississippi to grasp that of one of its zealous advocates beyond the Hudson. The East and the West are meeting in sympathy on this great question of the hour, and under God's providence the good work shall go onward till not only Maryland and Missiouri, but the whole nation shall be free.

On Saturday evening, Dec. 31st, the large hall of the Mercantile Library in this city was thrown open to Theodore Tilton, Editor of the New York *Independent*, who was to speak in St. Louis for the first time. This fact in itself inspired feelings of triumph in the expectant audience, as they contrasted the present with the past, three years gone, when the "Mercantile Library Association" of this city extended an invitation to the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to address them in that same hall, on *condition* that he would not in his lecture bring forward any of his *peculiar views* on the subject of slavery; but their enthusiasm reached its height and found vent in a hum of mingled surprise and admiration as the commanding figure of this youthful apostle of human freedom appeared before them.

He was accompanied by several of our prominent citizens, representing not only some of our princely mercantile houses, in the persons of Wayman Crow, James Richeson, Wyllys King, E.W. Fox, S.H. Laflin, and others; but also our clergy in the Rev. Dr. Nelson, and the army in Brig.-Gen. Clinton B. Fiske. Mr. Tilton's subject was the "Condition of our Country," an absorbing theme, but rendered doubly so by the masterly manner in which it was handled.

I feel it beyond my ability to attempt a description of such a lecture, but I must say a word of the manner of its reception. In illustrating the idea of "social equality," for instance, Mr. Tilton was particularly happy—as a lady of pro-slavery proclivities remarked, "he disposed of that question so handsomely, and so clearly, I really regret that we shall not hear him lecture another evening." Again, he laid before us the plain statistics of our national resources in such a way as caused the hearts of all to swell with pride at the contemplation of the illimitable wealth of our beloved land; now in heartfelt burning words he made the audience shrink with horror from the naked deformity of the course of our nation—the dark stain of slavery—and now with winning gentleness he led us back to Galilee, to the kindness, brotherly-love and true freedom set forth in the doctrines and life of our Saviour; "and this," he said, "is what I learn from the ethics of the New Testament." He little knew how—strongly in contrast with the pure Christianity of those words—there was brought to the minds of some in the audience before him a sermon preached from that very platform near four years ago by the Rector of one of the largest Episcopal Churches in this city, in which, from the teachings and example of the same Saviour, he endeavored to declare and establish the righteousness of human slavery! Ah! well may we thank God that those days are past, that the dawn of a new and better life is at hand for our country. Never in St. Louis have we enjoyed, in every sense, so great a treat as the lecture of Mr. Tilton. He is a speaker who gives forth no uncertain sound, there is the ring of the true metal about him; he has the heart of a Christian soldier, and that heart is in his work. His coming among us at this time seems especially opportune; the soil was ready for the good seed to fall, for the hearts of the people were warmed by the glorious songs of freedom and patriotism given us by those far-famed vocalists, the "Hutchinson Family," who also sang in St. Louis for the first time Dec. 28th; though thirteen years ago they came here, made all their arrangements for concerts, rented the hall, published their programme, and were *forbidden* to sing their songs of freedom in a land of bondage! Now, from the western bank of the "Father of Waters," with voices that God has endowed with rare sweetness and power, they send up, on these once proscribed shores, the joyful chorus, "the negro shall be free." Then, with our Legislature in session, and the "Union Convention" on the eve of assembling in this city for the purpose of preparing a new, a *free* Constitution for the State of Missouri; with the melodies of the "Hutchinsons" yet thrilling our hearts, Mr. Tilton comes among us the able exponent of genuine "Liberty and Equality."

We needed just at this juncture his fearless advocacy of human rights as embodied not only in the freedom of the slave, but in the right of universal suffrage, and he was strongly urged to remain here a few days and address the Convention on this subject, as, notwithstanding they are united in the righteousness of immediate emancipation, a great opposition has been raised against the equally vital point of the right of suffrage by the Missouri *Democrat*, hitherto the great organ and advocate of freedom in the West. Now that they have succeeded in arousing the interest and awakening the consciences of the people on the subject of freedom, this timidity on the part of the *Democrat* is surprising, and inexcusable to its friends and well-wishers, and more particularly so, as that paper is supposed to be the mouthpiece of Chas. D. Drake, the leading man, I might say the master spirit, of the Convention, whose heart and convictions are all right, but who, like many a one already standing high in the confidence of the people, and perhaps looking forward with some ambition to future elevation, may hold back from supporting so decided and so radical a measure as the establishment of the right of negro suffrage. If the counsels of our noble U.S. Senator from this District (the Hon. B. Gratz Brown) could only prevail, our new Constitution would be sound to the core, and the rights of *all* our people be guarantied forever.

Do not imagine, Mr. Editor, that our citizens, though greatly absorbed in these vital questions, were entirely forgetful of the minor courtesies of life. Mr. Tilton was invited to dine on Sunday, Jan. 1st, at the house of Gen. Fiske (mentioned above), who, by the way, is not only an efficient officer in Uncle Sam's Army, but a good soldier in "the Army of the Lord;" and, until the war, was for some years an earnest worker for the children, being Superintendent of the largest Sabbath School in St. Louis, numbering some fifteen hundred scholars. After dinner, under the escort of Gen. and Mrs. Fiske, Mr. Tilton visited the South Mission and other Sunday Schools, addressing some remarks to the children of each, and closing his visits at "Biddle Market School," where a short address from him was followed by a good old hymn from the "Hutchinson Family." Remarks by Gen. Fiske and the Superintendent closed the exercises of what the children will long remember as a very happy "New Year's Day." Monday being a holiday, and the custom of receiving New Year's calls, as usual, very generally observed here, Mr. Tilton, at the invitation of friends, spent the morning in visiting, in company with two of our merchants, who introduced him in the home circles of several of our most valued citizens—who also, I do not doubt, will long recollect the New Year of 1865 as the advent of so gracious a stranger in our midst.

To the regret of all, Mr. Tilton felt obliged to leave us, turning his face again eastward, on the afternoon of Monday the 2d inst., and while we desire to be truly thankful for this beginning of good things in St. Louis, we earnestly hope it is *but* the beginning; we are thirsty and hungry for more. We trust Mr. Tilton has not formed such a poor opinion of us but that he will come again; and we hope Henry Ward Beecher will also speak to such an audience in our Mercantile Library Hall as St. Louis never saw before, and tell them just as much as he pleases about the horrors of slavery, and the glorious future of a republic truly free. Wendell Phillips, too, we want to hear, and William Lloyd Garrison; and God speed the day when from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from our Northern Lakes to the

A MACUNAL.

John Thompson has been expelled from the Missouri Legislature for disloyalty.

The gold medal authorized by Congress to be struck for Gen. Grant, after the fall of Vicksburg, is finished and has reached Washington.

The Legislature of Michigan has reelected for another term her able Senator in Congress, Jacob M. Howard. He is a native of Vermont, having emigrated from that State to Michigan in 1832.

At the business meeting of the Plymouth Church Society, last week Thursday, the salary of the Pastor, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, was raised from $7,500 to $12,500 for the current year.

Rev. Antoinette L. (Brown) Blackwell discourses on "Men and Women" at Clinton Hall next Tuesday evening. Mrs. Blackwell has not spoken in public for a long time. She deserves a good audience.

Ex-Governor Yates was elected U. S. Senator by the Legislature of Illinois on the 5th inst. He is a warm friend of the National Administration, and his patriotic course as Governor of Illinois saved the State from falling into the hands of the Copperheads.

Frederick Douglass is to lecture for the Ladies' Union Bazaar Association, in aid of sick and wounded soldiers, at Cooper Institute, on Friday evening of this week. Rev. Sella Martin of this city, and John M. Langston of Ohio will follow in the course, besides one other yet to be announced.

The engraving of Carpenter's picture of "The Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet" is rapidly progressing in the hands of Ritchie, of New York, and it will probably be ready for subscribers in January, 1865.

We are sorry to say that the Rev. Mr. Grimes (colored) failed of being elected Chaplain of the Senate of Massachusetts. Fourteen Senators honored themselves in voting for him. The day is not distant when black men will not be excluded from office in Massachusetts on account of color.

The *Commonwealth* is pleased to learn that Mr. Emerson has received invitations to deliver in Chicago, Milwaukee and Worcester the course of Sunday evening lectures lately delivered by him in Boston. Why cannot we have these lectures in New York? They could not fail, we are sure, of attracting fit audiences.

Mr. G. B. Lamar, one of the hottest of the fire-eaters who went South in the beginning of the war, and was engaged in the business of blockade running, as developed by the Lamar correspondence published some time since, now figures at the citizens' meeting recently held at Savannah. Thus the rebels readily adapt themselves to circumstances.

That the path of duty is the way to glory is instanced in the career of Col. Henry G. Thomas, who was the first officer of the Regular Army to brave the prejudice against colored troops. He is promoted from command of the 19th U. S. C. T. to a Brigadier-Generalship, "for conspicuous gallantry before Petersburg." He is a native of Portland, Maine.

Mr. J. H. Estcourt addressed a public soiree, at Ashton-under-Lyne (Eng.) Dec. 31, appointed to celebrate the reelection of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. Mr. Estcourt reviewed, in a very able manner, a lecture in favor of the rebels, previously delivered in the same place by the Rev. John Page Hopps, Unitarian.

Lieut.-Governor Jacobs of Kentucky, it will be remembered, was sent within the rebel lines not long ago for disloyal conduct. The President has now permitted him to return—upon a promise, doubtless, of good behavior. The improved state of public sentiment in Kentucky has doubtless prepared the way for this act of Presidential clemency. It should be remembered, to the credit of Lieut.-Gov. Jacobs, that he released the Rev. Calvin Fairbank from the Kentucky penitentiary.

Mr. B. S. Osbon, naval reporter, No. 2 Dey street, New York, and correspondent of the English *Army and Navy Gazette*, has been arrested by order of the President, and ordered to be put on trial for furnishing to the public press and requesting the publication of the details of the Wilmington expedition, thereby causing the enemy to reinforce the works at Federal Point. Mr. Osbon is now in the Old Capitol Prison.

Alexander T. Stewart, says the Albany *Argus*, the drygoods nabob of New York, has the largest income of any man in America, or probably the world. He has lately paid an income-tax of $250,000, on a net income of $5,000,000! This would be the interest, at six per cent., of over eighty million. We know of no case among the wealthy men of England that surpasses or equals this, and we suppose A. T. Stewart is the "richest man" living.

We remind our readers in Philadelphia that Wm. Lloyd Garrison will deliver a lecture in Concert Hall on Monday evening next. It will be the first of a course of lectures, instituted by the "Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania," the objects of which are explained by the advertisement in another column. Mr. Garrison's subject will be, "The Guilt, Punishment and Redemption of our Country."

When Gen. Steedman was passing through Huntsville, Ala., lately, he learned that Dr. Ross, the New School Presbyterian preacher, who has long been notorious as a pro-slavery lecturer, was there, and that he had been, during the late rebel occupation, a very noisy declaimer against the government, and had invoked hell fire without stint upon the Yankees, and accordingly his arrest was ordered. Two wealthy secesh, who tried to bribe Gen. Steedman to release Dr. Ross, were sent to jail to keep him company.

Mr. Llewellyn S. Haskell, of Orange, N. J., the projector of "Llewellyn Park," and widely esteemed for nobility of character as well as great business enterprise, had a narrow escape from death, on Thursday of last week, in a collision of railroad trains near Bergen Tunnel. The car in which he was riding was smashed to pieces, and it was with great difficulty, and only after long delay, that he was extricated from the ruins. It was feared at first that he was fatally injured, but we learn that he is rapidly recovering. Theodore D. Weld, his kinsman by marriage, and his intimate friend, came promptly to his bedside, but returned to Boston on Wednesday, happy in the assurance of his speedy recovery.

There is reason to hope that Mr. W. A. Richardson, war correspondent of the *Tribune*, who has been in Libby prison for the last eighteen months, will soon be liberated, in exchange for Mr. Pollard of the Richmond *Examiner*, who, it will be remembered, was captured while endeavoring to reach England on a blockade-runner out of the port of Wilmington. Mr. Pollard has been permitted to go to Richmond upon his promise to effect the exchange, or, failing to do so, to return himself to captivity. Mr. Colburn, a war correspondent of the *World*, was captured at the same time with Mr. Richardson, but promptly set at liberty, which shows that the rebels know their Northern friends. Mr. Junius Brown of Cincinnati, another *Tribune* correspondent, is also in Libby prison, with no immediate prospect of release.

The Savannah correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* gives the following sketch of the personal appearance of Gen. Sherman:

"The pictures and descriptions which I have seen of Gen. Sherman convey anything but a just idea of his character. In *personnel* he bears a family likeness to his brother, Senator John Sherman, but has stronger qualities of feature. As he sat upon his horse erect as a mast for more than two hours, I thought him beyond comparison the most soldierly figure in the army. He is about six feet in height, and with all the mature physical power of vigorous middle age at command, and without an ounce of flesh superfluous or wanting. His brow is intellectual and free, head not big, but high, and he has the keenest and strongest eye in the army, and a long aquiline nose, as good in its way as the 'Iron Duke's.' Those pictures and descriptions which give him something like the face of a tiger and the manners of a slouch or an ogre, err upon the wrong side. The side face of Sherman gives you as much the idea of a professor as a soldier. The full face, bristling with the short cropped sandy moustache and beard, is military without being savage. He is a full composition of the Yankee soldier, and a fine type of the intellectual American. Business tact and energy, instant perception, comprehensive study and true military fire seem to be written in his features. He is fond of his horse, and not at all fond of dress; is a capital inspector, and a direct talker. His familiar manner is eccentric sometimes, but generally good humored, and though an uncompromising soldier he is still a large and kind hearted man—a quality to which his frequent care for the poor and humble negroes who have followed his camp will bear witness. At the review he wore his best clothes and a new felt hat, which every one suspects he has donned in honor of the occupation."

If ex-Gov. Wise of Virginia, who approved John Brown's death sentence, could now enter the parlor of his own family mansion on the east branch of the Elizabeth river, about eight miles south of Norfolk, he would see there a photograph, handsomely wreathed in laurel, of the man whose "soul is marching on." Wise's farm has been confiscated by the government, and several schools for contrabands are located upon it, the teachers occupying the house as a residence and making this appropriate decoration in the parlor. The officers who confiscated the place found in the house among numerous other papers a plan of secession drawn up by Wise in 1857 and approved by Jeff. Davis and several other prominent men in the South.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8, 1865.

THE debate on the Constitutional Amendment has taken such a turn in the House that I fear it will rouse the Opposition to a fierce resistance. The passage between Messrs. Scofield of Pa. and Brooks and Chanler of New York was intensely interesting, but it somewhat alarmed the few Opposition members who are expected to vote for it. Mr. Ashley, who opened the debate, confined himself strictly to the argument, and so far as he is concerned, the contest in the House has been admirably managed. James Brooks richly deserved the flagellation which Mr. Scofield gave him, and one cannot read the speech of the last-named gentleman without laughter. It is full of good points, but there is one passage in particular which is blistering, and which roused the honorable member from New York to his feet. I must quote it, though it is somewhat long:

"The gentleman himself gives some little encouragement. The little State of Maine (in which he tells us just in this connection he was born) is a match for England, France and Russia, and he finally adds for all Europe combined.

"Now, sir, if this little State, which had only the honor of rocking his cradle, that claimed him only in long frocks and petticoats, could withstand all Europe single-handed, is it not reasonable to suppose that, combined with the State of his adoption, the great State of New York, that possesses him in all the glory of pantalooned manhood, it could flog the world and the 'rest of mankind,' in which I suppose the rebels would be included? Maine can be relied upon for the contest, so can New York, since no perfidious hand now holds the helm, and the gentleman himself gives some hope that he may be goaded into the support of his struggling, suffering country. There is a point, he tells us, beyond which his forbearance will not go. It was not reached when the rebels seized our forts, navy yards, arsenals, ships of war, mint and custom houses, mails and post offices. It was not reached when they fired upon Sumter. It was not reached when they raised an army, hoisted a traitor flag, and laid siege to the Capital. It was not reached when they put pirates on the ocean to seize, rob and burn the peaceful merchant vessels from his own city. It was not reached when they raised the black flag and shot down our patriot soldiers after surrender, and then burned the hospitals over the heads of the sick and wounded. It was not reached when they murdered women and children and unarmed men, and burned the villages on the border without military motive. It was not reached when by the slow torture of hunger and cold they murdered by the thousands our dear, brave boys, prisoners of war in their hands. But he has an ultimatum notwithstanding. He announces it from his place in this Hall, and boldly flings it in the teeth of the rebels, and has the courage to hope that they may hear him. They must not go too far nor presume too much upon his forbearance. He will not stand everything. The insults and crimes I have named he can endure, forgive, forget; but if they dare to inspect his baggage as he travels South, he 'will not submit; never, never,' he repeats. 'Will you fight them?' inquires the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Wilson). Mark now the pluck of his answer. 'When the day and hour come I will be ready to mark out the course I will pursue.' Cambronne alone can answer that. It is fortunate for the rebels that the honorable gentleman has not yet learned that the privilege so highly prized has been denied him for three years and a half.

"Again, centralization, the absorption of all local and municipal authority by the Federal government, is another lion in the way of emancipation. What possible connection is there between centralization and emancipation? Why should one follow the other? Emancipation has been going on quite rapidly for two or three years; has the gentleman's city lost any of its municipal rights in consequence? Is it not still ruled by the 'Five Points' majority, with nothing to fear but its own mobs? Does it not still elect corrupt men for judges, and thieves to the councils? Let the gentleman look at home with his fears. It is his own city that is centralizing, centralizing all the disloyalty and depravity of the North, and here he should begin his labors."

This passage Mr. Brooks could not silently endure, and he therefore sprung to his feet, not to defend himself, he said, but to defend the City of New York. He called Gen. Butler a robber, and insinuated that the people of Pennsylvania are cowards. That was the essence of his reply. Poor Chanler, who was so unmercifully punished by Gen. Schenck before the holidays, took the floor and also tried to defend the reputation of the City of New York. It was all in vain, not even the whispered ejaculation of the obese Mr. Ward, "It is infamous and outrageous!" relieved the effect of Mr. Scofield's speech. It was a deserved rebuke of one of the most unprincipled men in the House. Mr. Brooks is a pleasant-mannered man, and many of the Republicans here are somewhat deceived by his gentlemanly manners, but the truth is that there is not a worse man—politically speaking—on the Opposition side of the House than James Brooks. He is in the market for the highest political bidder. Thinking a year ago that the slavery issue was about to be renewed, he ventured to say that slavery was dead. The words plagued him in the Congressional contest, and he seized the first opportunity to take the back track. His speech before the holiday recess satisfied his New York friends that he was not in earnest last Winter, and can be relied on to stand by the reactionary party whenever he shall be wanted.

The debate I have alluded to, though interesting, has had a bad effect upon two or three New York Opposition members, who were expected to support the Joint Resolution. I hear that yesterday they were complaining that the step they are about to take should be rendered difficult by such speeches. However, if they cannot stand a little wholesome truth, they may as well go with their friends, and the Constitutional Amendment can wait a little longer.

The House Judiciary Committee has declared itself in favor of a joint resolution preventing electors chosen in any of the rebel States—Louisiana and Tennessee included—from voting for President next March. No doubt the House and Senate will agree to the resolution. They certainly should do so. Any attempt to recognize either Louisiana or Tennessee as a State in the Union, with an organized government, will fail at this time. It looks now as if the House would settle the question of representation in that State by permitting the two members coming from New Orleans to take their seats. The House can do this without recognizing the Banks State government. It can simply recognize the fact that the two members *have loyal constituencies*, and admit them. Besides, there is a precedent for it in the admission of Messrs. Hahn and Flanders in the Thirty-seventh Congress. The Senate will not make haste to admit the Senators from Louisiana, and as things stand at present, will not admit them during the session. If the next campaign is successful, it will be a different thing, for it will then be certain that the war is at an end, and the work of reconstruction must soon commence.

The Senate will soon pass a bill freeing the wives and children of soldiers formerly slaves. It will also amend the present pension laws, so that the families of colored soldiers can obtain the pensions which by right belong to them without any trouble. The law is now somewhat blind in some of its sections, so that the wife of a slave-soldier (a soldier once a slave) cannot easily obtain a pension, nor can the disabled slave-soldier himself do it. This will be remedied sometime during the present session.

There was an amusing scene in the House on Thursday last. Cox of Ohio saw fit to go into a history of the Blair *fiasco*—the attempt of Mr. Blair to go to Richmond. He therefore quoted at length from the *Tribune's* article approving of the Blair peace-mission. While he spoke Montgomery Blair and Horace Greeley were both upon the floor—the latter upon the Republican side, and the former among the Democratic members. Cox could not resist the temptation to allude to their presence, and the galleries were instantly in a ferment, such was their anxiety to look at the celebrated editor. "Which is he? Where is Mr. Greeley?" was in everybody's mouth. Few seemed to care to see Mr. Blair. Mr. Greeley doubtless was somewhat embarrassed by the eulogistic notice of Cox. As for Blair, he seemed to like it well enough. If it were not that for four years longer the General government is to be in Republican hands, I should expect to see the Blairs over upon the side of the Opposition. Frank Blair's sympathies are with the Opposition already, as is well known. Perhaps I do injustice to the elder Blair and Montgomery, but the course pursued by both the sons would lead one to suppose that while they are friendly to Mr. Lincoln—personally—they are not warm friends of the Republican party. AVON.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

THE two Houses reassembled after the holiday recess on Thursday, the 5th inst.

In the Senate Mr. Sumner presented a petition from colored persons in New York asking for the abolition and the prohibition of slavery in the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Slavery. Mr. Wilson called up his Joint Resolution to make free the wives and children of slaves who enlist in the army, and urged its immediate passage. Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin, we regret to say, opposed and tried to kill it by a reference to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Saulsbury of Delaware opposed it of course; but Mr. Sumner made a brief and conclusive speech in its support. The Senate refused, 19 to 15, to refer the resolution to the Judiciary Committee. On Monday, the question was renewed, and the resolution, after being opposed by Messrs. Saulsbury of Delaware, Davis of Ky., Hendricks of Indiana, Johnson of Maryland, Powell of Ky., and Carlisle of Va., and supported by Clark of N. H., Pomeroy of Kansas, Brown of Mo., Wade of Ohio, and Wilson of Mass., was adopted, yeas 27, nays 10. Mr. Trumbull of Ill. was the only Republican who voted nay. [We may perhaps give some account of this debate hereafter. We have not room to do so now.]

In the House, on the 5th, Mr. Ashley introduced a bill to provide a temporary government for Wyoming, which was referred to the Committee on Territories. Mr. Cresswell of Md., in Committee of the Whole, made a speech against slavery, which he characterized as an unmitigated evil, to be tolerated for a time only. He spoke of the good effects of the abolishment of slavery in his State, which he claimed was forever secured to the Union. He also advocated the proposed Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the country. The issue was between disunion for the sake of slavery and the abolition of slavery for the sake of the Union. Thaddeus Stevens of Pa. followed in an anti-slavery speech, eulogistic of the President, and alluding sharply to the pro-slavery speech lately made in the House by Mr. Brooks of New York. Mr. Cox of Ohio (Dem.) replied to Mr. Stevens, dragging in the question of Peace as connected with the efforts of Mr. Greeley and others to send old Mr. Blair to Richmond. On the 6th the House unanimously passed a vote of thanks to Gen. Sherman for his late brilliant march through Georgia. Mr. Ashley of Ohio, according to previous notice, then called up the Joint Resolution, proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States so as forever to prohibit slavery, and made a long and very able speech in support thereof. Mr. Orth of Indiana and Mr. Scofield of Pa. also spoke in favor of the resolution—the latter involving himself in a short debate with Messrs. Brooks and Chanler of New York. On Saturday Mr. Bliss of Ohio (Dem.) and Mr. Rogers (Dem.) of N. J. spoke against the resolution, and Messrs. Davis of New York and Higbee of California in its favor. On Monday Messrs. Yeaman of Ky., Morrill of Vt., and Odell (Dem.) of N. Y. spoke for the resolution, and Messrs. Ward of N. Y., Mallory and Clay of Ky., and Voorhees of Ind. against it.

The debate was continued on Tuesday, Messrs. Kasson of Iowa, King (Dem.) of Mo., Grinnell of Iowa, Farnsworth of Ill., and McBride of Oregon speaking for the Amendment and Messrs. Cox of Ohio and Fernando Wood of New York against it. Contrary to general expectation, the question was not taken.

A VOTE FOR FREEDOM.—An imperative engagement deprived us of the opportunity of hearing Gerrit Smith's address delivered last week at the Cooper Institute. The drift thereof may be seen in the brief sketch from the *Herald*, on the fourth page. At the close of the address the following resolution was offered to the meeting by Peter Cooper, and adopted without one dissenting voice:

"Resolved, That this meeting consider that the work of amending the Constitution will not be complete till that instrument shall forbid any State to make any distinction between its citizens on account of race."

The meeting also unanimously adopted the following message to the President, which was accordingly telegraphed to him the next day.

"COOPER INSTITUTE, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1865.

"DEAR AND HONORED SIR: A thousand citizens of New York send you this message: Let no negro's hand drop the musket till you have armed it with the ballot."

OUR PRO-SLAVERY DEPARTMENT this week contains several articles that will repay attention. Those which we have copied from the Richmond papers show the desperate straits to which the rebels have been reduced. The *Sentinel*, it should be remembered, is understood to be the organ of Jeff. Davis. Our quotations from the New York Daily *News* and the Albany *Atlas and Argus* will serve to show what is "running in the heads" of the sympathizers with the Rebels at the North, and by what means they hope to give them aid and comfort.

U. S. SENATORS.—Wm. Pitt Fessenden has been elected U. S. Senator, by the Legislature of Maine, for the term of six years from the fourth of March. Kentucky has chosen James Guthrie, for the same term, to succeed Mr. Powell. In Massachusetts the House of Representatives has chosen Henry Wilson for another term, the vote standing—Wilson 207, Gov. Andrew 12, R. C. Winthrop, 2. The election on the part of the Senate has been postponed to the second Tuesday in February—a fact which indicates strong opposition to Mr. Wilson in that body.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The removal of Gen. Butler from command is the principal item of war news this week. The reasons for that removal have not been officially given, but a dispatch to the *Herald* from City Point, Va., attributes it to his failure at Wilmington and to "a mountain of dissatisfaction that has been accumulating against him for months on account of alleged illegal and arbitrary arrests, imprisonments and punishments." Gen. Butler has been ordered to proceed to Lowell and to report to the War Department by letter. Gen. Ord has taken his place for the present. We forbear comment on this unexpected event for the present.

On the 28th ultimo, the citizens of Savannah held a public meeting, at the call of Mayor Arnold, at which it was resolved to accept freely the generous terms offered by Sherman, and "to lay aside all differences and bury bygones in the graves of the past." On the 31st, the Common Council appointed an agent to come to New York to exchange rice for supplies of provisions needed for the poor of Savannah; but when this agent arrived here, empowered by Gen. Sherman to purchase supplies to the amount of $50,000, our merchants got together and opened a voluntary subscription for the purpose of presenting to the people of Savannah all that they needed, as an evidence of good will. Meanwhile, Collector Draper has left this city for Savannah, to take measures, as the agent of the government, for disposing of the thirty thousand bales of cotton captured with the city.

Sherman's forces are concentrating on the South Carolina boundary, with an evident design of operating against Charleston.

Gen. Thomas's campaign against Hood is ended—for the sufficient reason that the rebel force is used up. Steedman's cavalry last week captured and burned Hood's pontoon train, and took one hundred of his wagons, and the remnant of the rebel army forded the Tennessee river on the 29th ult., with only eight pieces of cannon. Our official list of prisoners is 9,700. The chase has been abandoned in force, our cavalry only continuing it, to pick up stragglers; and Thomas is already on the march for a new campaign, the purpose of which is not yet divulged.

Gen. Grierson, whose special preserve is the State of Mississippi, where he rode a galloping chase last year, has done more damage. On the 21st ult, he left Memphis with a strong cavalry force, and, having struck the Mobile and Ohio Railroad five miles below Corinth, utterly destroyed the line for a distance of 62 miles by the 27th. He stopped at Okolona, after destroying the track, twenty-nine bridges, thirty-two cars, three hundred army wagons, and four thousand carbines. Thus another important line of rebel communications is effectually interrupted.

The Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* says: "George D. Prentice of the Louisville *Journal*, who has been in Richmond for over a month, the envoy of the treacherous Unionism of Kentucky, on his arrival here through our lines, of which he seems to have the run, reported to Kentuckians in the house of his own sympathies, that the Jeff. Davis government had conclusively resolved to free and arm the slaves; that 200,000 of them would soon be equipped and put into the field to fight us, under the stimulus of the promise of their own liberty and that of their wives and children, and of a proprietary interest in the soil."

THE REMOVAL OF GEN. BUTLER.

Just as we are going to press, we have further particulars of Gen. Butler's removal. A Washington dispatch in the *Tribune* says:

"The alleged reason for this act was the withdrawal by Gen. Butler of his troops from the attack on Fort Fisher—Grant insisting that he should have persevered in the attack—Butler insisting that to have done so would have been a useless and wicked sacrifice of brave men, too few in numbers to take a work so strong, and so well garrisoned and supported as Fisher was discovered to be upon Weitzel's reconnoissance."

Gen. Butler's Farewell Order to his troops will thrill the hearts of his friends and of all loyal citizens:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA,
ARMY OF THE JAMES, Jan. 8, 1865.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE JAMES: Your Commander, relieved by order of the President, takes leave of you. Your conduct in the field has extorted praises from the unwilling; you have endured the privations of the camp and the march without a murmur; you have never failed to attack when ordered; you have stormed and carried works deemed impregnable by the enemy; you have shown the positions to be so by holding them against his fiercest assaults in the attempt to retake them.

Those skilled in war have marveled at the obstacles overcome by your valor. Your line of works has excited the wonder of the officers of other nations, who have come to learn defensive warfare from the monuments of your skilled labor. Your deeds have rendered your name illustrious. In after times your General's proudest memory will be to say with you, "I too was of the Army of the James." To share such companionship is pleasure. To participate in such acts is honor. To have commanded such an army is glory.

No one could yield it without regret. Knowing your willing obedience to orders, witnessing your ready devotion of your blood in your country's cause, I have been chary of the precious charge confided to me; I have refused to order useless sacrifices of the lives of such soldiers, and I am relieved from your command. The wasted blood of my men does not stain my garments. For my action I am responsible to God and my country.

TO THE COLORED TROOPS OF THE ARMY OF THE JAMES, In this army you have been treated not as laborers but as soldiers. You have shown yourselves worthy of the uniform you wear. The best officers of the Union seek to command you. Your bravery has now the admiration even of those who would be your masters. Your patriotism, fidelity and courage have illustrated the best qualities of manhood. With the bayonet you have unlocked the iron-barred gates of prejudice, opening new fields of freedom, liberty and equality of rights to yourselves and your race forever.

Comrades of the Army of the James, I bid you farewell, farewell. BENJ. F. BUTLER, Maj.-Gen.

Summary.

Mrs Lincoln has dismissed Jimmy, the old doorkeeper of the White House, who has held that post since Jackson's day.

No list of the deaths of 1864 will be complete without the name of George B. McClellan, late Major-General of the U. S. army. His is indeed a living death.

THE BOY SLAVES is the title of a new book by Captain Mayne Reid, the ever-popular writer for boys, just published by Tickuor & Fields. It is full of movement, excitement and adventure, with strongly-marked characters, and enough for them to do.

Said a Boston merchant to a millionaire the other day, in a jocose vein, "I am in doubt about taking your note. You confess, I see, to an income of only $13,000, while your expenditures, you will not deny, are at least double that amount." The millionaire laughed, but a faint blush mantled his cheek.

PROMPT AS USUAL!—Immediately on the fall of Savannah, Gov Andrew dispatched agents to that city to recruit black loyalists for the national army, to be credited to the quota of his State. He then asked permission from the Secretary of War to do so, which was cheerfully accorded, and the documents will arrive out about the time the first squad is on its way to Massachusetts.—*Commonwealth.*

REBEL DESERTERS.—A City Point (Va.) correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, under date Jan. 5, says: "Deserters are still coming over to us in abundance from the enemy. Thirty took the oath of allegiance two days ago, and the average number of them amounts to three hundred weekly. They all bring the same stories, so often repeated, of thorough lassitude in the rebel army, disgust at the war and all belonging to it, and a readiness to come back to the Union or anything to escape the grinding despotism of Davis and his satellites."

THE BLACK CODE OF ILLINOIS has just been tested in the person of Major-Gen. Palmer, who was tried in the County Court for bringing a negro into the State contrary to law, and acquitted. Since the negro came to the State he had enlisted in our army, for which he received $800, and invested it in United States bonds, thus supporting the Government with his fortune and his life. C. M. Morrison was the prosecutor.

President Lincoln pays $1,279 income tax, and Assistant Secretary of War Watson pays $2,020. W. W. Corcoran, the banker, pays $2,321, and George W. Riggs pays $3,977. Most of the government officials keep up their residences in other places, and are not taxed at Washington, and most of the brokers and bankers make no returns of income.

AN IMMENSE MAIL FROM SHERMAN.—The mail from Sherman's army, by the Arago, reached the New York Post Office at 6½ o'clock on Friday night, and the last letter of more than two hundred thousand was dispatched by the Erie line at 4½ the next afternoon. The stamps not having been cancelled this labor was necessarily performed in the N. Y. Post Office, and employed fifteen men throughout the night and up to noon on Saturday. Twenty men were required to sort the letters. This is the largest mail that the N. Y. Post Office ever recieved.

A POINT WELL-TAKEN.—The *Investigator*, in alluding to Mr. Everett's opposition to opening the Public Library and the Union Club House on Sundays, says of that gentleman:

"He lately said a good thing for Capt. Winslow's Sunday fight with the Alabama. Referring to the fact that the combat took place on Sunday, he observed, "The heroes of the Kearsarge did the Lord's work on the Lord's day." And since it is proper to do "the Lord's work" on that day for Him, He (the Lord) would not probably object to opening the Public Library on that day for the accommodation of the working people."

CHINAMEN IN CALIFORNIA.—There are about 60,000 Chinamen in California—a quiet, inoffensive, industrious sort of Asiatic Yankee, holding his pig-tail to be the chief ornament of his existence. He makes his little property and then goes home to enjoy it; for they all come under a pledge to return, dead or alive, and cargoes of their dead bodies are annually shipped back to China. They are much abused—indeed a sort of slaves—treated with great cruelty, injustice and oppression. They make the best servants, mechanics and factory hands; they are simple, useful and easily governed. Let us, then, welcome them and treat them well.—*Rev. Dr. Bellows.*

MILITARY COTTON PLANTING.—The government has been unable to protect all the cotton plantations along the Mississippi, and several of them have been ravaged by rebel guerillas, the negroes murdered or carried off and the crops destroyed. The planters in the vicinity of Vicksburg have therefore formed an association for mutual protection, and propose to plant cotton under arms. They have leased the rich interval between Vicksburg and Lake Providence on the west side of the river, containing about 250,000 acres of the best cotton land, and Gen. Canby has authorized them to raise a force of 1,800 for the protection of their colony. A defensive line will be established in the rear, and all connection with the interior closed. The company expects to raise thirty million dollars worth of cotton, if they have good luck, and the military protection will not cost over a million and a half. All but 50,000 acres of the lot have been released. J. W. Bissell, the civil engineer, is one of the managers.

THE NEW ATLANTIC CABLE.—The cable for the new submarine Atlantic telegraph is being prepared at London and placed on board the Great Eastern. Messrs Canning & Gifford are to commence laying the telegraph cable across the Atlantic in June next. The Great Eastern will have 500 hands on board, with a weight of 15,000 tons, including 4,500 tons of cable and 8,000 tons of coal. The conductor is formed of seven copper wires, and as there are 2,300 miles of cable, there will be 16,000 miles of copper wire. Every portion of this wire is subjected to electrical tests and then covered with eight successive coats of the insulating material. This coat is covered with jute, and the jute is covered with ten covered iron wires, each of which is covered separately with five strands of tarred hemp. The manufacture and preparation of the cable is going on with great rapidity, and there is every reason to hope and believe that this coming experiment to secure telegraphic communication between England and America will prove a success.

"A NOVEL CASE.—According to a verdict rendered in the First District Court of New Orleans, a man may, whenever he has no other way to amuse himself, throw a negro boy overboard from a steamboat, prevent any of his friends from rescuing the drowning struggler, stand quietly looking on while he goes to the bottom to rise no more, and be considered 'not guilty' of murder or any other crime. This is almost as enlightened a verdict as we were accustomed to in the palmy days of thuggery.—" *Louisville Daily Press.*"

Not at all a "novel case." There are those in the free States to-day, who are ready to throw the whole negro-race overboard into chattel-bondage again, to be cuffed, kicked, worked, killed, in one word owned by the "chivalry," for fear the "chivalry," in their very excusable pride, may become the leaders of savages and wage interminable warfare against democratic institutions, and be of no use to their old political allies. Civilization is nothing; rebellion is nothing. The main business is to restore the Union so as to restore the endangered pro-slavery dynasty and plantation despotism in the Federal government. All else is fanaticism, and whimpering philanthropy.—*Bost. Trans.*

THE OUTRAGES UPON THE INDIANS IN COLORADO TERRITORY.—Further developments constantly being made in reference to the recent outrages upon the Indians near Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory, increase the atrocity of this counter attack upon unarmed and unprotected savages. S. G. Colly, Indian agent near Fort Lyon, in a recent letter, writes that he had about two hundred and fifty lodges near that post all of the chiefs of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes. They, with their families and braves, were doing what they could to restrain others from committing depredations on the whites; and while they were under the protection from the troops at the post Colonel Chimigton, with the Third regiment from Denver, came down, took them by surprise, and killed about one half of them, including all of the women and children, and then left for Denver, again. It is probable that this outrage, which has enraged the Indians to the greatest degree, has closed that, the principal route, to Santa Fe, and will force all travel and transportation around by the way of Denver, to accomplish which is believed to have been the object of these murders.—*Wash. Cor. Herald.*

BLACK SOLDIERS IN BOSTON.—One new feature of the recent Emancipation celebration in Boston was the appearance in the streets of the Shaw Guards (14th Unattached Company of Infantry, M. V. M.) under command of Capt. Lewis Gaul. They turned out at noon, with full ranks, accompanied by the Boston Cornet Band, and made a fine appearance. The company, after leaving the armory, passed through the principal streets, and at 4 o'clock took dinner at Jameson's, in Spring Lane. A very handsome entertainment was provided. Col. Albert J. Wright presided. At the conclusion of the knife and fork exercises Capt. Gaul proposed the health of the Chairman, Col. Wright. That gentleman responded in a speech of much eloquence, concluding with the sentiment:

"*Capt. Gaul, Officers and members of the Shaw Guards:* May you be able as soldiers to sustain the noble reputation for bravery and heroism of the gallant dead whose honored name you bear."

The band played *Auld Lang Syne.*

Capt. Gaul then returned thanks for the generosity and kindness of their friends, and introduced the Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Rue, who spoke briefly but eloquently, concluding with a sentiment in honor of the memory of the late Col. Robert G. Shaw, Jr. The band played *Pleyel's Hymn*, the whole company standing. Mr. Robert K. Potter then read a letter from Hon. F. W. Bird of the Governor's Council, which concluded with the following sentiment:

"*Then, Now, Hereafter:* Yesterday it was announced that the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; to-day the white man confesses that *he* has rights which he asks the black man to defend; to-morrow the white man will acknowledge that his rights and the black man's rest upon the same basis."

Speeches followed from Messrs. C. Carry of Boston, E. D. Foster of Cheshire, First Lieut. J. P. Watkins of the Guards, W. H. Baldwin of Boston, and others.

The festivities being about to conclude, Mr. Curry proposed the sentiment:

"*Abraham Lincoln:* The author of the Emancipation proclamation, which inaugurates the day we celebrate" (repeated cheers and applause).

The band played *Hail Columbia.*

The affair was a very interesting feature of the celebration of the day.

In the evening there was a levee and ball at the Armory of the Guards, in Chardon street, which very happily concluded the proceedings of the day. The *Commonwealth* says: "The parade was the occasion of many kindly greetings. The prejudice against color is rapidly disappearing. The company appeared well as militia-men, and as gentlemen and citizens were honored with a collation at the expense of a number of down-town business men. Mr. Jameson, who opened his capacious saloon in Spring Lane, for the comfort and convenience of the Guards, deserves the thanks of every liberal and unprejudiced citizen."

Special Notices.

INTERESTING COURSE OF LECTURES
TO SUIT THE TIMES,
AT CONCERT HALL, PHILA.
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
SOCIAL, CIVIL, AND STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION,
OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Viewing the great changes going on with regard to their race, feel deeply impressed that rare opportunities at the present time present themselves for accomplishing a very great amount of good, by a course of lectures in this city from able advocates (white and colored) of equal rights and universal freedom.

As oppression has ground down the slave of the South, so likewise does prejudice and proscription weigh heavily upon the free colored man of the North; therefore, whatever tends to remove these evils aids in elevating the race; hence, with the hope of removing prejudice in a measure, by properly enlightening the public mind, these lectures have been gotten up.

The speakers engaged for the course are as follows:

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, J. M. LANGSTON, Esq.,
REV. SELLA MARTIN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
F. E. WATKINS HARPER, HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

Of the ability of the speakers, and their deep interest in the cause, it is needless to speak. The Committee hope the well-known reputation of the speakers, and the good cause for which they are to speak, will ensure the fullest success of their efforts.

The proceeds to go to aid in procuring the rights of colored people on the city passenger railways, or to aid the freedmen, or sick and wounded soldiers.

MR. GARRISON
WILL DELIVER THE OPENING LECTURE
ON MONDAY EVENING, JANUARY 15, 1865.
HIS THEME WILL BE
THE GUILT, PUNISHMENT AND REDEMPTION OF OUR COUNTRY.

The second lecture will be given by Rev. SELLA MARTIN, on the evening of January 24th. Subject—"*The two Methods of Soloing the Negro Question—God's and the Nation's.*"

The celebrated "Black Swan," Miss E. T. Greenfield, will sing on each occasion.

Advertisements.

DR. TALBOT'S CONCENTRATED MEDICAL
PINEAPPLE CIDER
IS A PREVENTIVE OF SICKNESS.

The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty-five years, convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes,

OLD AND YOUNG.

It is not new to the Doctor, but it is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person a year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring; nevertheless it will

SAVE MILLIONS

from being sick. Is it not better to pay three dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctor's bills, and as much more for the loss of time, and inconvenience of being sick?

To prevent sickness, use as follows:

Add one tea spoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night.

It will increase the strength, and give

VIGOR AND ACTION

to the system.

A celebrated New York Merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he has gained ten Pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it proved an entire

PREVENTIVE TO SICKNESS

in his case. Also, another well known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

THIS WONDERFUL PREPARATION

will increase the strength, give vigor and action to the system, and regulate digestion. When taken internally, for pains of all kinds—Bilious Colic, Diarrhœa, Diseases of the Throat, Pains in the Chest, Hoarseness, Coughs, Neuralgia, Rheumatic Pains, Dyspepsia, Acidity of the Stomach, et

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SLAVERY.

BURIED forever, dark word of shame,
Buried in seas of gore;
The future will point with a hand of flame
To thy sepulchre's crimson door.
Sure is thy doom,
Strong is thy tomb,
Never a flower on thy head shall bloom;
Word that we trace
On thy burial place,
With a shuddering and a flushing face,
Slavery.

Buried forever—thou wilt not rise
To hideous life again,
While the scar in the Nation's bosom lies
Worn by thy track of pain.
For the agony
Of the wound will be
A gulf that severs us far from thee,
And thou canst not come
Till the pain is numb,
The scar worn out and the memory dumb,
Slavery.

Buried forever! Our land shall be
Shelter to thee no more,
'Tis the home and altar of Liberty,
Forever, from shore to shore.
Sleep in thy grave,
That we richly pave
With the gushing life of the true and brave,
Word that we hide
In a heart-wept tide,
And spurn with a bleeding arm aside,
Slavery.

S. E. CARMICHAEL.

Great Salt Lake City, Nov. 24, 1864.

POMPEII IN 1864.

AFTER having prepared one's mind for a proper contemplation of a city buried eighteen hundred years ago, it is calculated to throw it back to the days of railways and other modern contrivances, to find, at the foot of the descent by which we have to enter the said city, a turn-table, at which we are called upon to pay a sum of rather less than a florin. But once fairly through this obstacle, the sense of the past comes back, and, to an Englishman at least who has only just arrived at Naples, life seems to return into the ancient city of Pompeii; he would feel it quite a natural occurrence if a helmeted, sandal-footed, scantily-dressed individual were to turn the corner of one of the streets at any moment. No longer does a guide lay hold of the disenchanted visitor, and drag him remorselessly from one object to another, but he is left to wander hither or thither at his own will, stopping when he sees fit to watch the careful operations of the workmen, and only asking questions when it pleases him.

The improved systems on which the excavations are conducted, too, has corrected at least one erroneous idea with respect to the manner in which the houses of Pompeii were constructed. Instead of being confined to a ground-floor, some of them were built with a floor above, with a verandah looking towards the street. This was the case with the house of Proculus; and in order to give something like a clear idea of what must have happened in a large number of households on that dreadful day when the city was entombed, I will take this man as an example, because we happen to know more about him than about any other Pompeiian.

Proculus was in all probability a rich, certainly an influential, citizen. His name occurs in connection with election matters in more than one place. On the right of the entrance to his house is the inscription *Popidium ced, Proculus rogat*, which may be freely translated by the inscription on a wall opposite to the room in which I am now writing, "Cox for Finsbury"; not far distant, a partisan of one Sadinus had scrawled, "*Sabinum ædilem Procule fac et ille te faciet*," an equally free translation of which would be: "O Jones, support Robinson as alderman for Bishopsgate-without, and he will propose thee for Bishopsgate-within."

His house was undergoing repairs when the catastrophe occurred; the painters' pots and the workmen's tools were left scattered about, and a part of the pavement had been taken up. A number of cooking utensils were heaped up in one corner, showing that the operations of the workmen prevented them from being put in their proper place. Others, containing various articles of food, were simmering on the little stoves. On a bronze dish, in readiness to put in the oven, was a sucking-pig; the oven itself being for the present engaged in baking bread; more than seventy loaves in all—the greater part of them weighing about two pounds—have been taken out of one oven. But the pig never entered the oven, nor were the loaves withdrawn until after a sojourn there of nearly eighteen hundred years. They still retain their form, though not their color. The porous cavities in the interior are still distinguishable. Their chemical constitution, however, has undergone a change; if we take a little of the crumb, and rub it between the finger and thumb, it crumbles to powder, and has very much the appearance of coal, the proportion of carbon in the centre being less than in the crust; and the proportion of water, which is 23 per cent. in the crumb, somewhat greater.

They were early risers in the house of Proculus, and the cook had begun his operations by lamplight, in the expectation, that as day had followed night, and night day hitherto, this order of things was eternal. But daylight did not come; the flames poured forth from Vesuvius, and showers of ashes rained down on the city, making it so intensely dark that fathers cried aloud for their wives, and their wives for their children, from whom they were but a few yards distant, yet could not see, by reason of the darkness—as dense as that which fell on Egypt, and which Moses describes as a darkness that could be felt. Hand in hand, as many as could grope their way towards each other quitted the house, passing on their way a sentinel, who sternly kept his post in his sentry-box, striving as well as he could to keep himself from being choked by the ashes, by holding his hand before his mouth, striving, but in vain, for the ashes continued to fall incessantly, until they filled the box, and buried him alive, still holding his weapon in one hand, and with the other covering his mouth and nostrils. There were two persons, however, who were left behind by Proculus and his family; one of these a woman who stayed to fill her apron with jewels, and who fell in the open court, never to rise again, scattering as she did so the baubles for which she had sacrificed her chances of escape; and the other a wounded gladiator, who probably occupied a room on the first floor, where he perished with his arms by his side.

There is, it seems, hardly any risk a woman will not incur to save what she most loves from peril, whether it happens to be her child, her trinkets, or her dog. Indeed, it is said that on the occasion of a long subsequent eruption of the same mountain, the nuns of a religious community nearly suffered themselves to be surrounded by lava, in order that they might save their jams and sweetmeats. It may have been the wife and daughter of Proculus whose bones were discovered lying near each other; the elder having to all appearance yielded up her breath with slight resistance; whereas the younger had evidently struggled convulsively before resigning her young life, as is shown by the models taken by pouring liquid plaster of Paris into the moulds formed by the pressure of their bodies on the volcanic ashes. These two were found lying near each other; but in another place were found the skeletons of two young people who had laid down to die folded in each other's arms. Elsewhere were discovered a mother and three children, all buried together in a living grave. Seventeen others perished in a cellar in company. Though the excavations are far from complete, there have been, according to one writer, more than six hundred skeletons discovered already.

As to the objects excavated, they are exceedingly numerous. The most valuable are takeu to the Museum in Naples, but a vast number remain in the collection in Pompeii, and every day adds to the number in both places. Of course, the greater part of these are of no intrinsic value whatever; they are interesting as relics of a people, some at least of whom were living at the very time when some of those momentous events were taking place in Palestine which have changed the face of the world. Articles of real worth have, however, been discovered; for example, a lamp made of gold weighing nearly three pounds' Troy. But Pompeii was not a city in which similar things are likely to be found frequently. The excavations that have been made have been so extensive as to establish that; and if we may judge of the future by the past, there is quite as little prospect of articles made of the precious metals being discovered, as there would be in the case of a place like Worthington, if it met with a similar catastrophe, and the inhabitants had had a few hours to carry away what they considered of most value. The articles most generally found are those used in the kitchens and the shops—bulky matters, of little worth, in the estimation of the terrified owners, but of inestimable value to us of the present generation. It is more likely, too, that these things are genuine, than that such things as rings, ear-rings, brooches, and other small articles of jewelry are, which are sold as such; indeed, the manufacture of these is or has been a regular traffic; and let not any man who has visited the buried city, and bought surreptitiously from one of the excavators a jewel or some other relic of antiquity which the man has turned out before his eyes, imagine that it must have been the property of a Pompeiian; those who plant, know where to dig, and those who sow, where the harvest is to be looked for; and we never saw a Neapolitan, nor, in fact, any other man at a similar place, who seemed to think there was any harm in supplying a demand, by the substitution of a modern article for the presumed antique. Probably very many of these are manufactured in our own towns, since there are few things they do not make there. A translation from a price-current issued by an English house for (shall we say) facilitating idolatrous worship, describes the beauties of certain images which the aborigines were in the habit of worshipping, in the most glowing language, and at a price ridiculously low, considering the use to which they were to be put.

The excavations are now being made on a scale and with a care which will soon exhaust whatever objects still remain hidden by the ashes. A statuette of Silenus has been discovered quite recently, which is described as possessing great merit. It is about eight inches in height; in its left hand it holds a serpent, which supported a glass vase, incrusted with gold of exquisite workmanship; unfortunately, the vase was broken, and only two fragments have yet been found. Two large and elegant candelabra were also found in the same house, as well as two capacious silver vases. Among the recent discoveries, that which seems to have excited the most interest, is the accidental opening of a spring. The water immediately came bubbling up, clear and sparkling, and inviting everybody who came near to drink of it, which they did, some of them in their enthusiasm swallowing a sufficient quantity to cause them serious personal inconvenience. Several bottles were filled with it, which were sealed as carefully as if it were the very choicest of Lachryma Christi, some of which were dispatched to the King of Italy, and others to the Pope and other favored individuals.—*Chambers's Journal.*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

From the Maine State Press, Dec. 17, 1864.

IN listening to the first lecture of the Independent Course at the City Hall on Friday evening last, we tried to ascertain the nature of the manifest power through which Mr. Garrison held the attention of his audience. A first-class orator he cannot be considered. His rhetoric is forcible but not ornate. He is too serious, too much impressed with the weight of his subject to deal in pleasantries or amusing illustrations. He seems too calm and self-possessed to be seized away by bursts of passion thrilling his hearers. His thoughts arrange themselves in orderly sequence, but not in logical propositions, that coerce the assent of the intellect. The raciest public speakers, even in the pulpit, are satirists. Garrison is too truthful to exaggerate, and his only satire is when he makes a stunning and comprehensive epithet do the office of a roundabout description or assertion.

The secret of his influence is that there is a man behind the speech greater than the speech—a man that the speech only helps to disclose. The leading characteristics of the man are clearness of moral conviction, fidelity of devotion to what he believes good and true, a keen perception and an inflexible hatred of injustice. For thirty years he has inveighed upon the public platform against the villany of American slavery, and during that time the Church has held up his name as a synonym of infidelity, and the State as the embodiment of sedition. Serving the same cause by substantially the same methods for a less period, Wendell Phillips now declares himself an *agitator*. He has so learned the art of assailing abuses with eloquent speech, that he would plot reform in the kingdom of Heaven. If Mr. Garrison should declare himself an agitator, his placid face, lit up with spiritual beauty, his sweet, rich voice, speaking out of an unsoured heart, his unfailing charity, that in a long controversy with his times, has left no room for cynicism, his cheerful views of the Divine Providence preparing a glorious destiny for his country and countrymen, that has so bitterly persecuted him, would all belie the self-accusation.

This is a man to nestle into the affections of home, to walk placidly around the circle of friends, reversing and supporting the institutions and the faith of his age. But the sensitiveness of a conscience, that takes cognizance of great organized sins, that escape the scrutiny of small souls looking after their petty personal deficiencies, and uncontrollable rage at oppressions that fell on the poor and the despised, made him assume the task of an accuser and innovator. One listens to his earnest words as to something more than a harangue from a professional agitator, a man whom habit or dyspepsia has made a Diogenes; indeed, as to the echo of the woes and wrongs of all the enslaved, reverberated from a soul endowed with the pitying sensitiveness of Jesus.

This is not only the secret of Mr. Garrison's power as a speaker, but it is the secret of his influence in the country, and gives him justly the place of leadership in the anti-slavery enterprise now rapidly approaching its consummation. Garrison has stood in the temper and with the inspiration of a Hebrew prophet (and while scouted as not believing the prophets or revering the Bible, no man has so reproduced in his modes of thought and action the Biblical ideas and the old prophetic situations) and denounced slaveholding with such a fiery earnestness and iron pertinacity that the nation has been aroused, first to rage, then to argument, then to slow conviction, and at last to repentance. This influence has been almost purely moral and religious—an earnest soul arousing other souls. As to practical methods, he has scarcely proposed any. It was nearly ten years before the small school of his disciples attempted to form a political platform, and it was futile and impracticable to the last degree, viz: that the North, or at least Massachusetts, should dissolve the Union, seceding for liberty as South Carolina has done for slavery. Let us not doubt the nobleness of such a devotion, but rejoice that only a handful of our countrymen ever came to adopt it. True, only a *peaceful secession* was proposed, but South Carolina preferred *peaceful* secession, and, once out of the Union, wanted *to be let alone!* Thank God, that the guilt and miseries of this great civil war were not suffered to fall upon Massachusetts, fighting hopelessly against slavery, but against loyalty, against civic good faith, and against the Union!

The people, too, wanted to see a man about as sure of historic and world-wide fame as any this age has produced. More and more his countrymen will recognize his fidelity and heroism, we here chiefly after he returns from redeemed New Orleans and Charleston, clothed with such honors as repentant slaveholders and ransomed slaves will press upon him. May he live till his countrymen shall fully atone for the outrage of dragging him with a *halter* through the streets of Boston, by drawing him seated by the side of its Mayor in a carriage through the streets of Charleston!

AN ADDRESS BY GERRIT SMITH.

From the Herald of Jan. 5.

THE Cooper Institute was well filled last evening by an intelligent audience, drawn thither by an announcement that Mr. Gerrit Smith would speak on the "Amendment to the Constitution." He commenced by observing that, in his judgment, the Constitution distinctly forbids slavery, and this was apparent from the fact that it guaranteed to every State a republican form of government. If the people could not have an amendment that would say it was an anti-slavery paper, let it be at least implied. The Constitution should never more be interpreted to legalize slavery or permit its legalization. But a far more important amendment to the Constitution was proposed, and that was an amendment which should provide that no man be civilly or politically disabled because of his race or origin. Such an amendment would not only banish slavery, but would make effectual protection against its return. The power which the Constitution had in itself to make amendments was important; and if it were exercised there would be an end of slavery, polygamy, and other abominations, and make the people of the American States homogeneous. He was opposed to the premature reconstruction of the States, and in favor of provisional governments until the rebellion was subdued. The speaker alluded to the plan for reconstructing the Union now before Congress, and commended some of its features, but wished that there were a provision in it forbidding the forfeiture of civil and political rights because of race or origin. In short, the plan of Congress was calling for a war of races. Christ crucified was the Saviour of the world, and the negro crucified was the saviour of this nation. No State, in his judgment, should return to the Union unless she would be impartial in respect to the distribution of power. Louisiana should not be admitted with her present Constitution, although that State, all things considered, did very well. He thought Gen. Banks was a good Governor and an enlightened friend of the colored people, notwithstanding the stigma cast upon him by some Abolitionists. Mr. Smith then went on to speak of the plan of Gen. Banks for the employment of the negroes, and said that it was but right to put the blacks under restriction and the guidance of another power, but after the war the colored people should have all their rights. Mr. Smith then enunciated the startling proposition that ecclesiastical and other laws were the greatest curse under which humanity was groaning. Nature was law, and only in proportion as she was recognized did we honor the God of Nature; and he believed the time would soon arrive when courts would hold that whatever ignored or trampled upon nature was not law. He dwelt especially upon the attempt to legalize human bondage, and quoted extracts from letters written by Chief-Justice Chase nine years ago, wherein he said: "I am for freedom everywhere and slavery nowhere; for freedom for all, and slavery for none. Most heartily will I rejoice when the people and their judges shall be educated up to the point of regarding slavery as so great a wrong that it cannot be legalized. If you can find me judges who will decide that slavery is so clearly and palpably repugnant to reason and natural justice that it can be sustained nowhere and by no law, I shall be the last man to object to the decision." The speaker then discussed the effect of the proclamation of Emancipation, and returned to his argument—that nothing could make slavery law, because it could not be administered in the spirit of honesty. The war inflicted great burdens upon society, but it would give us a higher appreciation of the dignity, grandeur and sacredness of man. In conclusion, he said we needed better laws and a better religion. How would they get them? He answered, by getting higher and juster conceptions of man. The day was coming when nature would be the soul of law and of religion.

JEFF. DAVIS'S LAMENT OVER "MY MARYLAND."

BY J. C. HAGEN.

AH! woe is me! ah! woe is me!
My Maryland, my Maryland!
That I should live this day to see,
My Maryland!

When thou, our favorite, shouldst fall,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
On whom our hopes were centred all,
My Maryland!

Now, while our sky so darkly lowers,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
And all but spent our wasted powers,
My Maryland!

That thou shouldst leave us to our fates,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
And herd with vulgar Northern States,
My Maryland!

That thou, with reeking hands still red,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
With blood of hated Yankees shed,
My Maryland!

Shouldst basely now our cause forsake,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
And Yankees to thy bosom take,
My Maryland!

After what we had hoped of thee,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
That thou shouldst set thy niggers free,
My Maryland!

This cut of all was the unkindest,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
Nor tears, nor prayers, nor threats thou mindest,
My Maryland!

Slav'ry as freedom's corner stone,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
We had resolved the world should own,
My Maryland!

And in this warfare 'twas our plan,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
Thy valiant sons should lead the van,
My Maryland!

But thou our proffered boon hast spurned,
My Maryland! my Maryland!
Our brilliant prospects overturned,
My Maryland!

Perverse and stubborn as thou art,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
In grief and bitterness we part,
My Maryland!

Yet think not to escape the fate,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
Of one so wilful, so ingrate,
My Maryland!

Thy poor white trash shall burst their fetters,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
And lose all reverence for their betters,
My Maryland!

The very negroes of the pen,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
Assume the dignity of men,
My Maryland!

The curse of trade shall be upon thee,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
And schoolmasters shall overrun thee,
My Maryland!

The whipping-post and callaboose,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
Shall crumble down for want of use,
My Maryland!

The church and schoolhouse take their place,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
As monuments of thy disgrace,
My Maryland!

Such is thy doom, beyond recall,
My Maryland, my Maryland!
And hast thou not deserved it all,
My Maryland!

—*Christian Inquirer.*

FREE MARYLAND.

NEAR BALTIMORE, (Free) Maryland,
12mo. 24th, 1864.

BELOVED FRIEND, WM. L. GARRISON: It was the privilege of my dear wife and self to be in Maryland when the proclamation of freedom was made. The roar of cannon, because of its association with the destruction of human life, was always distasteful to me. On this occasion its reverberations, mingled with the chime of bells, were grateful to my ears, because they were heralds of liberty to the slave.

On the morning of the proclamation, it was our privilege to be seated at the breakfast table of our venerable friend John Needles, with his wife and several of his children, and other guests. It was an occasion, like the blooming of the Ceres, to be long remembered. Our dear friend seemed to us like a second Simeon; and as we sat around the table, the voice of thanksgiving to the God of the oppressed mingled with our tears of gratitude.

Our visit to this State was from an impression of religious duty. Among the series of meetings we have held, several have been for the freed people. Our meetings among the colored people, both in Baltimore and Washington, were largely attended. We were delighted to find them receiving the boon of freedom for themselves, and their people, in such a beautiful, calm, Christian spirit. They certainly possess a large religious nature, and have more of the forgiving temper of Christ than the Anglo-Saxon race.

Our dear friends, John and Mary Needles, accompanied us to one of the meetings at the Sharp street church. The services were opened by a few impressive remarks from him. The house is large and tasteful; but, what was better than all, the auditory was one of the most respectable in appearance that we had seen.

The currents of air that we breathe here seem freighted with freedom now.

Our friend, J. N., related to us an anecdote of a lordly slaveholder, who, some years ago, went North; and while there, his chattel breathed air that gave him some new ideas, and his first lesson in astronomy was to follow the North Star. The discomfited claimant came home minus the man, and indignantly exclaimed, "It is abominable to think of it! A man, made in the image of God, to be deprived of his servants, and have to wait on himself!"

At the Bethel, on Saratoga street, we found their place of worship much larger, and everything about it in most excellent taste—even the seats cushioned, from the platform to the door. The minister, an interesting man, stated to us that the edifice would seat 1,500 persons. If these people, under the despotic slave code of Maryland, could secure such places as these temples of worship, what may they not accomplish under the new dispensation of liberty?

This day was foreseen by seers in olden time. Among them was John Woolman, who, on the first of the 4th month, 1740, at five o'clock in the morning, wrote in his journal—"I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching when the man that is the most wise in human policy shall be the greatest fool, and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is Omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and He commanded me to open the vision."

At the close of a large meeting in their meeting-house in Washington city, a fine-looking young man desired to speak briefly. He was a brother of our gifted friend Anna E. Dickinson, and offered his services to teach evening schools among the freed people. Our mission is not only to these people, but to penitentiaries and prisons, meetings for children, houses of refuge, orphan asylums, homes for the friendless, the blind, etc., all of which we have visited.

While in the Gun Powder settlement, where we had an interesting meeting in the Friends' meeting-house for the freed people, the spacious residence of Gorsuch was pointed out to us. We are glad to learn that his son voted for the free Constitution. The world moves.

In the Sandy Spring settlement, after we had concluded our services in a crowded meeting, a colored man bowed in prayer; and I never heard such fervor, such pathos and devotion of spirit, such meekness and forgiveness of injuries, compressed into so few words, in all my life before.

When we were in the penitentiary, in solemn meeting with the prisoners, I could not forget that among them were thirteen men, incarcerated for sheltering fugitives from slavery. If the law could have grasped *us*, we should have shared a similar fate. We remembered the martyr Torrey, who, within these walls, was suffered to wear the stripes of a felony for obeying the precepts of our Redeemer.

To our meeting in the jail—which, by the way, is a new and artistic edifice—we were accompanied by several persons; among them Nathan Tyson, the son of Elisha Tyson, the great-hearted Abolitionist of olden time. He pointed to the place where the old jail once stood, in which a young man was locked up, who took for his motto the incendiary words, "My country is the world, my countrymen all mankind."

We have just heard of the translation of Thomas Whitson. He was a dear friend of ours, and we had hoped, ere we returned to our home in the prairies, to have grasped his hand, and broken bread at his table. He was a man of wonderful natural genius; without scholastic education; could floor any antagonist that ventured to grapple with him; and yet was gentle as a little child, and deeply imbued with faith in the power of love to save the world. Peace to his memory! He did not live to see slavery dead; but, thanks be to God, he saw its back broken.

Our interview with Abraham Lincoln was one to be remembered by us. We were indebted to the gentlemanly politeness of Isaac Newton, the Commissioner of Agriculture, for it, unsought for on our part. The President moves slowly, but the interview confirmed our conviction that he is an honest man, possessed of a religious spirit, and feels the tremendous responsibilities of his position. The closing words of his message have the true ring. Let us all work and pray until slavery is utterly destroyed.

Our beloved friends in this blessed cause of freedom are, one by one, passing away. I do rejoice that thou hast been permitted to live until this day, to see the *desire of thy soul* so near being satisfied. May the work of reformation go on, and may slavery be exterminated utterly! May we have a free and undivided country, and may peace at last spread its wings over us, is the desire of

Thy affectionate friend, JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

A GRANDMOTHER.

BY MRS. F. D. GAGE.

ISN'T it a nice thing to be a grandmother? To have six little feet come pattering to meet you when you get home; to be rejuvenated with kisses; and have little legs and arms coiling round you, like clinging vines, and swaying you to and fro, like rollicking winds, while merry laughter and clamor for precedence breaks forth like dashing, jubilant fountains.

Isn't it a happy thing to be a grandmother—to have your hands laid in your lap when they are weary, and young ears listening for "sing a song of sixpence," and little legs astride your knee, galloping to the time of

"Ride a Jack-horse
To Banbury cross,
To see what Charlie can buy—
A penny brown loaf,
A sweet sugar-cake,
And a half-penny apple pie."

Did not our grandmother sing that same for us, fifty years ago? Are we one day older just now than we were then?

Then to have the little pink toes come out of the stockings, and put up at us so temptingly, for

"Hinta-minta, cuta corn,
Apple-seed and apple-thorn,
Wire-briar, limber-lock,
Five gray geese in a flock,"

and so on to the end of that delectable story.

Isn't it joyful to be a grandmother? To sit in your son's or daughter's best parlor, filling the great armchair in the centre, which has been set for you by such kindly hands, and looking up into the four-foot mirror on the wall, to see yourself, in the midst of a cluster of young life—fresh as the apple-blooms that surround the central stem. To see yourself—gray hairs, wrinkles, shadows, and all; but what of it? You see too where the shine of your May-day locks has gone to, as you stroke back Fannie's "bonnie brown hair"; and the roses which you delighted in at fifteen have only transferred themselves to her plump cheeks. Lizzie has the laughing blue of your eyes; while Charlie, as he mounts the chair-back, and comes rollicking down over your shoulder into your lap, smashing your head-gear and tearing away pins and fastenings, makes you wonder how you can have one nerve of power left, with which to catch the bundle of frolic, and save it from annihilation. He is your own again.

Isn't it a paternal thing to be a grandmother? To see all of yourself duplicated and triplicated, over and over; to find every missing energy, every ripple of a laugh, every flash of feeling, every atom of the I don't care; every infinitesimal pill of mischief and mirth, which made merry childhood's days to you—living, glowing, growing, and swelling into a life beyond and worth living for in a half-dozen others.

And do we grudge our darlings these treasures, once all ours? Not a whit more than we would grudge the candies and sweetmeats that we have no taste for, now that the up-hill of life is done with, and we are travelling down toward its sunset rest.

Isn't it a holy thing to be a grandmother? To bring the wisdom of a life-time, like rich, ripe fruit, for the hands of those we love; to turn the young feet from danger, and fix the young eyes upon the beautiful; to watch, to guide, to guard; to sing sweet lullabies to pride and folly; to snatch the temptations of passion from unwary fingers, teach the young hands to be useful, the young heart to be brave, and the soul to be pure and trust in God.

Oh, it is good to be a grandmother; to card, and spin, and weave all that is left that is good of the old garment of our own lives into the new fabrics which shall clothe and adorn many others who shall stand in our places when we shall be no more. But woe unto her who makes shoddy of her work.—*Independent.*

A SUGGESTION FOR DAVIS.

[*By the editor of the Richmond Sentinel—perhaps.*]

JEFF. DAVIS, our slaves, who their blessings well know,
Will be sure not to fight when we need 'em,
If they're told that good service, instead of reward,
Will bring them the curse of their freedom.

Let us look t'other way, then, and take the free blacks,
From their sad degradation to save 'em,
Put them in our armies, and if they fight well,
For their highest reward we'll *enslave 'em.*

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

[RICHARD D. WEBB, of Dublin, writing to the *Liberator*, pays the following tribute to the late Earl of Carlisle:]

I BELIEVE there was never a kinder-hearted or a sweeter-spirited man. There certainly was not one of the English nobility so generally beloved and respected; and no Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ever labored more zealously and conscientiously to benefit the country, and to reconcile the factions by which this nation is disgraced and distracted. Schools, prisons, lunatic asylums, manufactures, agriculture, were indebted to his patronage and oversight. When the British Association for the Promotion of Science, and that for the Promotion of Social Science, held their meetings in Dublin, he attended their meetings, and extended his hospitality to their members of all ranks and classes in a way which evinced his kindly nature and no ordinary moral courage; for it was directly opposed to the habits and prejudices of the order to which he belonged. He was in favor of every good cause, of every good object, and no man was ever more hostile to the institution of slavery. He cordially welcomed many of the leading Abolitionists who visited Dublin during his Viceroyalty; among them I particularly remember Samuel J. May and Parker Pillsbury. When Professor Cairnes delivered his celebrated lecture on the war in America, he was present on the platform, and at its conclusion he cordially shook the Professor by the hand, and paid him very marked attention several times afterwards. His mind was highly cultivated; he was an eloquent speaker; and his account of his voyage in "Greek and Turkish Waters" is a delightful book of travels, possessing far more than temporary interest. His last visit to London was in last April, at the time of Garibaldi's stay in London; and when the General paid his visit to the opera; he was surrounded by some of the highest of the nobility. Lord Carlisle was among the number who paid this tribute of respect to the most illustrious Italian of modern times. I do not remember any one of his rank who has attracted so much respect and affection to himself by the kindliness of his demeanor, and the possession of so many amiable qualities as Lord Carlisle.

LADIES IN INDIA.—The ladies, poor things, come in for all the disagreeables of up-country life. Without plenty of work, India is unbearable. That alone can stave off languor and a depth of *ennui* of which a person who has never left Europe can form no conception. In a climate which keeps every one within doors from 8 in the morning till 5 in the evening, it is, humanely speaking, impossible to make sufficient occupation for yourself, if it does not come to you in the way of business. After a prolonged absence from home, reviews and newspapers become uninteresting. Good novels are limited in number, and it is too much to expect that a lady should read history and poetry for six hours every day. What well-regulated female can make dress an object in a society of a dozen people who know her rank to a tittle and her income to a pice; or music, when her audience consists of a Punkahwallah and a Portuguese Ayah? Some ladies, as a matter of conscience, go very closely into the details of household affairs; but after a time they come to the conclusion that it is better to allow the servants to cheat within a certain margin for the sake of peace and quietness; for cheat they will, do what you may. Oh! the dreariness of that hour in the middle of the long day when children are asleep, and your husband has gone to tiffin with the judge, and the book-club has sent nothing but Latham's "Nationalities of Europe," and three refutations of Colenso (who seems to take an unconscionable amount of refuting, considering the size of his publications), and the English post has come in yesterday, with nothing but a letter from your old governess, congratulating you for being settled among the associations of the Mahometan conquerors of India, and asking you to take some notice of her nephew, who is in the office of the Accountant-General of Bombay. It is very up-hill work for a lady out here to keep up her spirits and pluck, and her interest in general subjects. The race-week, the visit to her sister in the Punjab, the hope of being ordered down to Calcutta, the reminiscences of the sick-leave, and the anticipations of the furlough, are the consolations of a life which none but a very brave or a very stupid woman can endure long without suffering in mind, health, and tournure. If a lady becomes dowdy, it is all up with her; and the temptations to dowdiness in the Mofussil cannot well be exaggerated.—*Macmillan's Magazine.*

PÆAN FOR VICTORY.

SHOUT, shout! the tidings o'er
The land from shore to shore,
All shall be free!
The Knights of Bondage bleed,
Rebellion's ranks recede,
Our arms triumphant lead
To victory!

All hail the glorious sight!
Columbia's martial might
Traitors astounds!
Fair Freedom's valiant host
Has silenced Slavery's boast,
Along Secessia's coast,
And through her bounds!

God grant we soon may see
Enduring unity,
And sheathe the sword;—
Our country's foemen felled,
Secession's spirit quelled,
The smoke of strife dispelled,
And Peace restored.

Then Union's banner bright
Shall herald Freedom's light
On shore and sea,
And Heaven's benignant rays
Illume the Nation's days,—
Our hearts ascribing praise,
Great God, to Thee!

EDWARD P. NOWELL.

CAPT. JOHN SMITH.—I was much interested in seeing to-day in the house of a descendant of Capt. John Smith, the founder of the colony of Virginia, an extremely ancient portrait of him. It is the very ideal of a pioneer—a tawny, shaggy look, but imperial air. I don't wonder that he won the affections of the beautiful Pocahontas. Under the picture are these lines:

These are the lines that show Thy face, but those
That show thy Grace and Glory brighter bee;
Thy Faire-discoveries and Fowle-overthrowes
Of salvages much civilized by thee,
Best show thy Spirit and to it Glory wyn.
So thou art Brasse without but Golde within.

This is the only real portrait of the captain in existence, and is owned by the family of Admiral Smyth. In one corner is a sphere, in another some soldiers near a swamp, in another a ship, in another a mounted cavalier.—*M. D. Conway, in the Commonwealth.*

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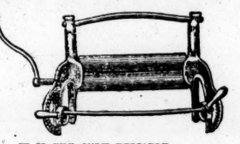

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No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the best Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $5 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That Iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split.*
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out.*
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen; I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydize or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.
Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanizing business enables me to indorse the above statement in *all particulars.*
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Sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.
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The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warrants in every particular.

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received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

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No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

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The greatest improvement yet in the Sewing Machine art. A curiosity worth seeing.
Please send for circular with sample of sewing.
These improved Machines save ONE HUNDRED PER CENT. of thread and silk, and make the LOCK-STITCH alike on both sides.
They require no instruction to operate perfectly, except the "printed directions."
No change in sewing from one kind of goods to another.
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Our NEW MANUFACTORY is now complete, with all its machinery and tools entirely new, and is already rapidly turning out Machines which for BEAUTY AND PERFECTION of FINISH are not surpassed by any manufacture in the world.
N.B.—Should any Machine prove unsatisfactory, it can be returned and money refunded.
Agents wanted in counties not canvassed by our own agents.
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It is entirely noiseless.
A patented device prevents its being turned backward.
The needle cannot be set wrong.
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It received the Gold Medal of the American Institute in 1863.
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